Through this Syriac Patristic study, Sr. Roselin tries to make an analytical reading of a 4th/5th century work *Book of Steps*. According to her research, she claims that the triple gradated Church in the *Book of the Steps* never refers to three hierarchical groups, but to the spiritual maturity of a tripartite person in experiencing and comprehending the mystery of the 'one' Church.

Mar Joseph Perumthottam
Metropolitan Archbishop, Changanacherry

It is only in recent times that we have been introduced to the East Syrian theological contributions. We are slowly discovering the richness of the oriental theological findings. This work is a valuable contribution to the growing studies on ecclesiology.

Mar Joseph Powathil
Archbishop Emeritus, Changanacherry

The theme of the research is inherently fascinating and complex. It refers to the connection between the visible and invisible Church, and sends the reader back to many crucial debates, not only on ecclesiology but also on the *Book of Steps*, an ancient Syriac text which is the object of her study. Even more than offering a guiding hand to contemplate such a distant past, it urges us to collect its legacy for today's world.

Dr. Emidio Vergani
Professor of Patristic Theology and Syriac
Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome

Sr. Roselin Aravackal holds a doctorate in Oriental Ecclesiastical Sciences from the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome. She is a member of the monastic community of "*Mar Toma Sahodarikal*," (Sisters of St. Thomas), the first *Sui Iuris* Monastery started in the present day Syro-Malabar Church for women. This community's first *dayara* (Monastery), *Bet Toma*, is situated at Palamattom, in Changanacherry Archdiocese, Kottayam, Kerala, India, 686536.

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PONTIFICIUM INSTITUTUM ORIENTALE
FACULTAS SCIENTIARUM ECCLESIASTICARUM ORIENTALIUM

SHEEBA SEBASTIAN SST

THE MYSTERY
OF THE TRIPLE GRADATED CHURCH

A Theological Analysis of the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* (*Book of Steps*) with Particular Reference to the Writings of Aphrahat and John the Solitary

DISSERTATIO AD DOCTORATUM

MODERANTE

PROF. DR. EMIDIO VERGANI

ROMÆ 2016

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Pontifical Oriental Institute, Sr. Sheeba Sebastian SST
Rome, 2016.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The 'Church[1] of God', being a divine mystery, is beyond any human comprehension. The inspired authors of the Sacred Scriptures, the Apostles, the Fathers of the Church, the Sacred Councils and Synods, the Theologians of 'past and present' tried to describe her nature in several languages and multiple styles, using definitions, descriptions, images, types, allegories, *etc*. Still, before the question, what is or who is the Church? everyone will be in a similar situation to St. Paul who tried to puzzle out 'love'[2]. The present study is an analysis such an attempt of an anonymous person, the author of the ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܨܬܐ / *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* (*KM*) a treasury of thirty ܡܐܡܪܐ / *mēmrē*[3] probably from the late 4th or beginning of the 5th cent. AD of Syriac milieu. It is well known by the name *Liber Graduum* (*LGr*) which is the title given to its Latin translation. Due to the allegation that this work was Messalian it was not studied seriously for many years. Recently, however, there has been a growing interest in this rich document among scholars.

It is known that the 'Fathers of the Church' and the authors of many early Christian writings were the close followers of Christ and good pastors who wrote from their own experiences. In a way, they become our contemporaries through their writings and even after centuries, they guide us in our spiritual journey. The anonymous author of the *KM* is such a responsible pastor who treated almost all the problems and experiences of a

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[1] In this study the term 'Church' begins with capital letter 'C' stands for the Church as a mystery in general, while the term 'church' with small letter 'c' to indicate a church building reserved for worship.

[2] 1Cor 13:1-13.

[3] The term ܡܐܡܪܐ / *mēmrā* derives from the verb ܐܡܪ which means 'to speak'. The term *mēmrā* is usually used for a 'homily', a 'speech' or an 'oration'. Cf. Sokoloff, 701.

'community of faith'. He appears to be a spiritual father of a living community and he addresses various issues and speaks about different topics. However, his primary attention is on the baptized person[4] who is trying to attain the state of spiritual maturity. This work is studied by several scholars giving much focus on its affirmation about the existence of two groups of people in the community, the 'Upright' (ܟܝܢܐ / *kēnē***)** and the 'Perfect' (ܓܡܝܪܐ / *gmīrē*). However while speaking about the Church the author paves the way to a triple gradation; for him the Church exists on three levels *viz*., the 'visible Church' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ), the 'Church of the heart' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ) and the 'heavenly Church' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܥܠܐ). The attention of this study falls on this anonymous author's teaching on the «triple gradation» regarding the Church and through this dissertation, we want to bring out the intention behind such a presentation. Our thesis can be summarized thus: the triple gradated Church in the *KM* never refers to three hierarchical groups, but to the spiritual maturity of a tripartite person in experiencing and comprehending the mystery of the 'one' Church. This profound teaching, which presents a person's spiritual life in terms of his participation in ecclesial life, deserves our attention and needs a detailed study.

1. The Scope

The title of this dissertation is «The Mystery of the Triple Gradated Church: A Theological Analysis of the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* (*Book of Steps*) with Particular Reference to the Writings of Aphrahat and John the Solitary». In this study, we try to make an analytical reading of the *KM* considering it as an exhortation for the faithful applicable even for the present day Church. Accordingly, this study tries to focus on the following facts:

1. How the anonymous author of the *KM*, a Syrian theologian supposed to be from the last decades of 4th or from the beginnings of 5th cent. tries to explain the mystery of «man» in terms of another mystery, the «Church»?

2. How does he present the ecclesial life as the right way of spiritual growth?

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[4] In Syriac literature the masculine expression 'son of man' (ܒܪ ܐܢܫ) refers to human being / person in general, cf. Payne Smith, 53, 55. Hence this study uses the masculine terminology «man» to speak about men and women generally.

3. From where did the author receive such a thought of gradations of realities especially that of a triple gradated Church?

4. What is the uniqueness of this author and his ecclesiology? How relevant are they to the present Church?

The contextualization of a text from an anonymous author who is from the Syriac Orient - a forgotten tradition which is not greatly touched by the theological development of other traditions like Greek East and Latin West and whose identity and period of life are still in dispute, is not easy. Hence in this study we also analyze the works of some other ancient Syriac writers giving particular emphasis to Aphrahat († *c.* 345)[5] who is believed to have lived just before the author of the *KM* and John the Solitary (*c.* 5th cent.)[6] the immediate follower, to see whether the *KM* is unique in its views on the triple gradated Church or simply follows any traditional line of thought.

2. Sources

The present study is mainly based on the critical edition of the *KM* by M. Kmosko[7]. In this edition, he provided a complete Latin translation of the work under the title *Liber Graduum*. Later it is fully or partially translated into several modern languages[8]. For the text of the *KM*, Kmosko edition

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[5] Aphrahat was born in the Persian Empire (the exact place is not known) between AD 270 and 285 and died after 345. The only extant work of Aphrahat is entitled *Expositions* or *Demonstrations* (ܬܚܘܝܬܐ */taḥwyātā*) and was written in Syriac in between 337 and 345 AD. Further discussions are there in Chap. III, section «2. Aphrahat».

[6] In the MSS various works are attributed to this person whose identity is still a riddle for scholars. However, the texts were written in Syriac and probably in the mid 5th cent. and before the Chalcedon council (451 AD) as there is no reference to Christological controversy in the writings. Cf. *John the Solitary on the Soul*, tr. M.T. Hansbury, ix. The detailed study on the person and the works of the John the Solitary is there in the Chap. III, section «3. John the Solitary».

[7] Cf. ܣܦܪܐ ܕܡܕܪܓܬܐ *Liber Graduum*, M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr.

[8] In addition to Kmosko's Latin translation with the title *Liber Graduum* its complete translation is available only in Arabic and English, cf. Arabic trans., كتاب المراقي *Kitāb al–marāqi*, tr., F. Baïssari; English trans., *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr., R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier. There are many partial translations. For the Syriac text with the English trans. of the first ten *mēmrē*, cf. *The Syriac Book of Steps*, I, tr., R.A. Kitchen; for the Syriac text with the English trans. of 10 to 20 *mēmrē*, cf. *The Syriac Book of Steps*, II, tr., R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier; and for the Syriac text with English trans. of 20 to 30 *mēmrē*, cf. *The Syriac Book of Steps*, III, tr., R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier. The English trans. of *mēmrā* XII is done by R. Murray, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 264-268. For the English trans. of 12th &

with corresponding English translation is given throughout this study. The translations are of R.A. Kitchen and F.G.M. Parmentier[9] but always verified and in many occasions slightly modified for more accuracy. Even though we use several early Christian writings, our particular references go to the writings of Aphrahat and John the Solitary. For the corpus of Aphrahat, we mainly use the critical edition of Parisot[10] and consult the edition of Wright[11] and some modern translations[12]. From a large corpus of MSS of monastic works attributed to John the Solitary there are several published edited works and some modern translations[13]. However, this

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18th *mēmrē*, cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 42-61. English trans. of 14th *mēmrā*, cf. L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 486-498. Finnish trans. of fragments from 18th & 19th *mēmrē*, cf. S. SEPPÄLÄ, *Kerubin silmin*, 287-289; 309-310. Italian trans. of 12th *mēmrā,* cf. P. BETTIOLO, «Adamo in Eden e la liturgia celeste», 274-305; 301-305; French trans. of 12th *mēmrā*, cf. S.P. BROCK, , «La prière et la vie spirituelle», 235-240; Malayalam trans. of 1 to 5 *mēmrē*, cf. Q.E. VADAKETH, ed., ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികസോപാനങ്ങൾ; and 12th and 18th *mēmrē*, cf. G. CHEDIATH, പ്രാർത്ഥന സുറിയാനിസഭയിൽ, 46-61.

[9] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr., R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier.

[10] For Syriac text with Latin trans. of first 22 *Expositions*, cf. I. PARISOT, ed., *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*; and for the Syriac text with Latin trans. of 23rd *Exposition*, cf. I. PARISOT, ed., *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstratio XXIII de Acino*, 1-489.

[11] W. WRIGHT, ed., *The Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage*.

[12] French trans.: *Aphraate le Sage Persan. Les Exposés*, 2 vol., tr. M.-J. Pierre; German trans.: *Aphrahat Demonstrationes. Unterweisungen*, 2 vol., tr. P. Bruns; English trans. of first ten *Expositions*: *Aphrahat. Demonstrations*, I, tr. K. A. Valavanolickal; English trans. of 11 to 23rd *Expositions*: *Aphrahat. Demonstrations*, II, tr., ID.; complete English trans.: *The Demonstrations of Aphrahat, the Persian Sage*, tr. A. Lehto; Italian trans., *Le "Dimostrazioni" del "Sapiente Persiano"*, tr. P. Ridolfini.

[13] S. DEDERING, ed., *Johannes von Lykopolis*; W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea* (Syriac text and German translation); ID., ed., *Kohelet-Kommentar*; L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe* (Syriac text and German translation); ID., ed., *Drei Traktate von Johannes* (Syriac text and German translation); «John the Solitary. Kephalaia», in J.Y. ÇIÇEK, *Martyānūtā d-abāhātā qaddīše d-'idta*, 99-101; *Letter to Hesychius*, Syriac text: «ܦܣܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ» in S.P. BROCK, *Mālpanūtā d-abāhātā*, 30-44, English trans.: «Letter to Hesychius» in ID., «John the Solitary. On Prayer», 84-101; S. MAROKI, «Jean le Solitaire (d'Apamée) (Ve Siècle): quatre lettres inédites», 477-506; M. NIN, «Comentario de Juan el Solitario a Ef 6,11», 207-222; M. NIN, «Giovanni il Solitario. Due dossologie christologiche», in M. LÖHRER – E. SALMANN, ed., *Mysterium Christi. Symbolgegenwart und theologische Bedeutung*, Fs. B. Studer, 205-218; M. NIN, «Il commento di Giovanni il Solitario a Mt. 5, 3», 29-37; ID., *Juan el Solitario. Los cinco discursos sobre las Bienaventuranzas*; ID., «Memra de Juan el Solitario», 19-39; ID.,

study focus mainly on his discourse, *On the Soul* edited by S. Dedering[14] and its English translation by M. Hansbury[15]. When we consider the writings of Aphrahat and John the Solitary we have to admit the fact that they are also complex like the *KM* in the diversity of themes dealt with. Hence, we focus only on certain themes that help us to foster our study on triple gradated Church, mainly the 'temple' theology in the *Expositions* of Aphrahat and the 'tripartite scheme' of John the Solitary. In addition to these three authors' works, writings of some of their contemporary writers as well as certain liturgical texts of Syriac churches are also used to deepen this research. The studies made on the *KM*, the books and articles related to our subject are consulted as necessary.

3. Methodology

While choosing the methodology we have to respect the characteristics of the Syriac milieu, which is the cradle of our subject matter. A. Vööbus reminds us that in «studying these texts one has not to forget that here we are in the midst of the milieu of the Syrian Orient, for the measurement of which the standards of Western thought simply do not apply»[16]. The well-known theologian R. Murray suggests a methodology which is apt in this case:

> The interpreter of the early Syriac Fathers, as of the New Testament, must listen to them to discover their theology (or theologies); the Fathers' purpose was not necessarily the same as his, and he will fail in his purpose if he imposes a pattern alien to their thought. The western mind looks for a logical order. However, the ideas and trains of thought of Semitic writers (at least before the later Syriac writers) are not to be rendered in categories that go back to Greek philosophical method[17].

Following the suggestions of these great scholars of Syriac theology, in our study, we try to be faithful to the author as well as his historical and cultural milieu. In this research we follow an analytical - synthetical method. However, to some extent, it is descriptive too. Since our primary

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Quatro lettere siriache attribuite a Giovanni il Solitario; L. VAN ROMPAY, «An Ascetic Reading of the Book of Job», 1-24.

[14] S. DEDERING, ed., *Johannes Von Lykopolis*. In the dissertation we used its abbreviation as «*Die Seele*».

[15] Cf. *John the Solitary on the Soul*, tr. M.T. Hansbury.

[16] A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 183.

[17] R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 2.

aim is to be attuned to the author's style of thought as well as to his historic and cultural context, we followed a philological analysis of the text and tried to understand the nuances of his expressions. The first chapter is historical while in the third chapter we make a comparative analysis to see the mutual influences between Aphrahat, the anonymous author, and John the Solitary.

4. Content and Structure

Apart from a 'General Introduction' and a 'General Conclusion', this study consists of 4 chapters, an Appendix which includes a brief study on 'The Pauline Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṭā*', 'Transliteration Table', Abbreviations, Bibliography and different indices *viz*., 'Biblical References', 'MSS', 'Proper names of Persons and Places', 'Ancient Christian Writings', 'Key Syriac words and Expressions' and 'Main Themes'.

The Chapter I is a general study on the *KM* as it appears in the critical edition. Attention is given to the historical and theological background of the author and the addressed community to understand the real spirit behind the presentation of different gradated realities in the *KM*. The Chapter II is a study of the general pattern followed by the author throughout the *KM* to present various realities in a triple gradated format to find out the common factor among them. The Chapter III is about that common factor, the «tripartite person». In this chapter, we go through the *KM* from an anthropological point of view. Here an attempt is made to find out similar thoughts present in the *Expositions* of Aphrahat and in some of the writings of John the Solitary especially in *On the Soul* to check whether the triple gradated Church of the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṭā* has any similarity with them. Chapter IV, the last chapter focuses on the key concept of our thesis, the «triple gradated Church». It mainly concentrates on three concepts present in the title of our dissertation, *viz*., the «mystery», the «Church», and the «triple gradation». In the general conclusion, we try to recapitulate the findings and the fruits of our study under each chapter. In addition to that, we try to actualize the text in the context of the present Church to recommend the reception of ancient patristic texts in our contexts.

Since we are using the sources in their original language we have to include a large number of Syriac words, expressions and passages in our study. It is not possible to transliterate all of them for an English reader. However, we transliterated only certain Syriac words, those repeated

frequently, and the mode of transliteration is done according to the table provided[18].

The Pauline influence in the *KM* is a crystal clear fact. So a study is provided in the Appendix focused on the «Pauline exegesis in the *Kṯābḇā d-Massqāṯā*»[19]. The concepts and expressions from Pauline corpus applicable in our study are summarized there. Different indices are also given for the better comprehension of this research paper.

5. Typography and Mode of Citation

In our study, generally, we followed the typographical instructions provided by the PUG, Rome[20]. However, for the passages from the editions of the early Christian writings in their original language the suggested instructions are not much applicable. So we made our own model for those ancient sources. Hence, a briefing of the mode of citation of at least our principal sources is a must.

1. *Kṯābḇā d-Massqāṯā*

For our main source, the critical edition of the *KM* published in the 3rd volume of *Patrologia Syriaca* (PS), we use the abbreviation PS III. This edition contains the transcription of the text in *serto* with the addition of vowels with its Latin translation under the title *Liber Graduum* (*LGr*). The editor arranged the work in columns. In our subsequent citations, the number following PS III will be the column number of the text in Syriac and the superscript, the line number in that column. Many modern translations of the work followed the paragraph number of the Latin translation. Hence, in parenthesis we mention the *mēmrā* number and the Paragraph number of the Latin translation for each reference, to help the readers of the translations of the work. For example PS III, $636^{12\text{-}25}$ (22,2) refers to the column number 636 and line number 12 to 25 of the Syriac text which corresponds to 2nd paragraph of the *mēmrā* XXII of *LGr*.

2. *Expositions (Taḥwyātā)* of Aphrahat

As it was already said, the first 22 *Expositions* are edited and published in PS I, and the 23rd is in PS II[21]. The mode of citation is exactly the same as that of PS III. The number that follows PS I or PS II is the column

[18] See p. 387.
[19] See pp. 379-386.
[20] Cf. R. MEYNET – J. ONISZCZUK, *Norme Tipografiche*.
[21] See f.no. 10 of General Introduction.

number and the line number in that column is provided as the superscript. Within the brackets, the *Exposition* number and the paragraph number of the Latin translation is given for those who follow the modern translations. There the Roman numeral refers to *Exposition* number and the Arabic numeral to the Paragraph number within that *Exposition*, *e.g.*, PS I, 909[13-18] (XX,10). Even though there is a different edition of W. Wright[22] for the Syriac text, the section numbers do not fully correspond with that of Parisot. The details of the editions and translations that are relevant for our study are given in the Bibliography. The English translations are done in consultation with that of A. Lehto and K.A. Valavanolickal[23]. Here one thing should be noted. Since the second volume of *Patrologia Syriaca* includes other writings too, the abbreviation PS II is not exclusively applied for Aphrahat. From PS II, we quoted Bardaisan's *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*[24], *History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*[25] and *Apocalypse of Baruch translated from Greek to Syriac*[26] following the same citation method.

3. Monastic Corpus of John the Solitary

From the edited works of John the Solitary we use mainly that of W. Strothmann (*Johannes von Apamea*)[27], L.G. Rignell (*Briefe*)[28], and S. Dedering (*Die Sieele*)[29] and their corresponding abbreviations used in our work are given in the parenthesis. In all these cases the number given as superscript along with the page number is the line number in that page where we find the quoted text. For example, *Die Sieele*, 7[13-17]; *Briefe*, 15*[13-14], *etc*.

4. Works under the Authorship of Ephrem

We used plenty of quotations from the Ephremian corpus. Mainly the editions of E. Beck in the CSCO series are used. In the case of the hymns, the defined abbreviation of the quoted hymn is followed by the hymn

[22] See f.no. 11 of General Introduction.
[23] See f.no. 12 of General Introduction.
[24] Syriac Text with Latin trans., *Liber Legum Regionum*, F. NAU, ed. – tr., 490-658.
[25] *History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*: Syriac text with Latin trans., *Narratio de Beato Simeone Bar Sabba'e*, M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr., 779-960.
[26] *Apoc. Bar(Syr)*, Syriac text with Latin trans., *Liber Apocalypseos Baruch*, M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr., 1056-1306.
[27] Cf. W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*.
[28] Cf. L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*.
[29] Cf. S. DEDERING, ed., *Johannes Von Lykopolis*.

number in Roman numeral, strophe number in Arabic numeral and in superscript the line number in that strophe. The page number in the edition of Beck is also provided. For example, *HNis* XLVII, 2^{1-2} in E. BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, II, 58.

5. Isacc of Nineveh

The homilies of Isacc of Nineveh edited by P. Bedjan[30], S.P. Brock[31] and S. Chialà[32] are used in our study. For the expressions from the edition of Bedjan we provided page number, and in superscript the line number. For example P. BEDJAN, ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita de Perfectione*, 244^{17}; and for those from the second part, the chapter number in Roman numerals, paragraph number in Arabic, and in superscript the line number in that paragraph are provided. For example Isaac of Nineveh, II, Chap. VIII, 16^{1} in S.P. BROCK, ed., *'The Second Part'*, 24. The same system is followed for the third part edited by Chialà; Discourse number in Roman numerals, paragraph number in Arabic and the line number in that paragraph in superscript. For example *Discourse* IX, 31^{5-6} in S. CHIALÀ, ed., *Isacco di Ninive. Terza Collezione*, 70.

A similar style is continued for many other ancient Christian writings quoted in our study. In all cases the number given as superscript refers to line number.

6. Limits

For our study, we used the published critical editions of the concerned authors. Even though the catalogues are consulted, our study never extended up to a serious analysis of the MSS. All the three authors share a character of anonymity and it was hard for us to identify their personality and hence their genuine thoughts. Since the writings of Aphrahat, the anonymous author of the *KM* and John the Solitary consist of multiple arguments and themes so we are forced to limit our focus on those directly related to the topic of our study, the «triple gradated Church». From the huge corpus of John the Solitary, we mainly analyzed the discourse «*On the Soul- Die Seele*». The search for the similar thoughts in other works is not done. We analyzed the *KM* to have its vision on the visible Church and

[30] Cf. P. BEDJAN, ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita*; English trans., *Mystic Tratises by Isaac of Nineveh*, tr. A. J. Wensinck.

[31] Cf. S.P. BROCK, ed. – tr., *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*.

[32] S. CHIALÀ, ed. – tr., *Isacco di Ninive. Terza Collezione*.

left space for its actualization, for fear that our dissertation would become too vast.

7. Originality and Relevance

While speaking about the originality of the present study, we can claim its uniqueness in the field of previous scholarship. It is true that the 12th and the 28th *mēmrē* of the *KM*, those which depict the Church in its triple gradated format are translated and briefly treated by some authors like R. Murray[33] and R. Roux[34]. However, as far as I know, a detailed study that we made with particular reference to Aphrahat and John the Solitary is a pioneer attempt. The relevance and originality of this study may not formulate new theories of ecclesiology; rather, it hopes to explain the pedagogical style of 'Fathers' in doing theology in the context of ordinary life situations. Hence, this study welcomes future scholars to work for the reception of the *KM*'s message in the present ecclesiological context. Since we focused the analysis of the text in bringing out the detailed depiction of the mystery of the Church we briefed the descriptions of its actualization. Hence, the possibilities are opened for further studies to bring out the golden thread that unites this 4th / 5th cent. work and its author to the present Church, «the community of the faithful». As we have seen in the Bibliography the complete translation of the *KM* is available only in Latin, English and Arabic. Being a collection of exhortations of a good pastor, small monastic or communities of faithful would benefit from reading its extracts for catechesis. It is recommended, therefore that it should be translated into more modern languages. It was my primary motive to select this work for my doctoral dissertation with a future plan to translate it into *Malayalam*, my mother tongue which is inherited by many oriental Churches belonging to the Syriac tradition. From this study, I was able to tune into the author's milieu and gained enough confidence to initiate a translation in the future.

[33] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 262-276.
[34] Cf. R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 53-72.

Chapter I

The *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*: A Rare Portrait of the Ancient Mesopotamian Christianity

Introduction

The anonymous Syriac treatise, the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* (*KM*) famous in the western world under the name of its Latin translation *Liber Graduum* (*LGr*) was hardly known outside the Syriac world until the 18th cent. It remained unnoticed behind the shadow of the more diffused works of the near (supposed) contemporaries, Aphrahat, and Ephrem. However, after some decades, we can see a growing interest among new scholars for the *KM*. They recognize it as an ancient Syriac ascetic work, which depicts a rare portrait of Mesopotamian Christianity in its pre-monastic period and helps to recreate its vibrant history. Even after these new attempts to peep into the complex world of the *KM*, it still deserves real scholarly task to study the text itself and to explore the hidden riches in this monumental work. As A. Vööbus observes:

> It is one of the most ancient works which has come to us from the ancient Syriac literature devoted to the subject of spiritual life and asceticism. As such it is a very precious source of the very archaic spirituality in Christendom in Mesopotamia. It unfolds pneumatic mysticism, characteristic of the archaic Syrian spirituality indigenous to Mesopotamian Christianity. It is an exceptional opportunity to be permitted to have so deep a glimpse into such an important phase in the history of spirituality in the lands washed by the Tigris and Euphrates — in a document whose antiquity and content to make it

incomparable source, valuable beyond price for its contribution to our knowledge of archaic Syrian spirituality[1].

In the *KM*, the addressed community is not the so-called «monks or religious» of the present day, but the believing community, *i.e.* the local «Church» which itself is ascetic in nature. The *KM* community tried to guide their life to higher levels but never neglects this visible world. They considered it as a part of God's world. This remarkable collection of 30 homilies deals with the terrestrial and heavenly elements of Christian life. As a preparation to enter into the *KM's* vision on the «triple gradated Church», we have to attain basic knowledge regarding the background of this complex work. For that we make a trip through the thoughts and findings of the scholars who went ahead of us and dedicated their time, shedding much light on this unnoticed treasure. Along with that, we shall deal briefly general themes such as the context, the literary structure, the authorship, the time of composition, the nature of the transmission of the *KM*, the challenged orthodoxy of the text, *etc.*

1. *Satus Quaestionis*

Without trying to detail the fruits of the labours of predecessors of the *KM* study circle, this section try to provide a *résumé* and a brief discussion of the previous scholarship[2]. In 1719 J.S. Assemani mentioned the *KM* under the title *LGr* along with other MSS kept in the Vatican Library[3]. It remained without getting any attention, being mentioned only in certain catalogues of MSS[4] for almost two more centuries. In 1901, while studying the MSS of the British Museum, the Hungarian scholar M. Kmosko happened to see these MSS and announced his desire to make a critical edition and worked for it till 1926[5]. While he was waiting to publish it in the series of *Patrologia Syriaca* in 1920, the then Patriarch of Antioch Ignazio Efrem II Rahmani, claimed to have the photos of an 8th cent. codex containing the MSS of the *KM*, the work of an anonymous author and

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[1] A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 17.

[2] For a detailed bibliography of text, translations and secondary works, cf. G. KESSEL – K. PINGGÉRA, *A Bibliography*, 53-60.

[3] J.S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I, 586.

[4] ASSEMANI, *Catal.*, III, 141; W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 698.810-811.856.882; H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogues des manuscrits*, 150-152.

[5] «*Opus hoc Deo dante anno proximo in vol. III Patrol. Syriacae publicaturus sum*». See f.no. 1, in M. KMOSKO, «Analecta Syriaca e codicibus», 35. Cf. K. CZEGLÉDY, «Monographs on Syriac and Muhammadan Sources», 20.

introduced the author as a contemporary of Aphrahat[6]. Two years later A. Baumstark presented it as a Syriac translation of a Greek work of one Romanos, the contemporary of Severus of Antioch[7]. At last in 1926 Kmosko's dream was fulfilled and the first critical edition was published with the complete Latin translation, a well written *Praefatio*[8], a lexicon of main Syriac words[9], the index of names and themes[10], and finally the index

[6] This is the MS «R» mentioned and referred by Kmosko. For the details see the f.no. 89. Since the remark of the Patriarch about this new MS is relevant in many ways to place the *KM* in its context, a quote in enough length is apt:«Una notizia da me trovata in un codice dell'ottavo secolo conservato nella Biblioteca Vaticana, ... tutti i documenti siri, anteriori al quinto secolo e conservati in codici antichissimi, ... Esse sorpassano le duemila e sono ricavate: 1. dal Diatesseron di Taziano... 2. dagli atti dei martiri Edesseni e dagli apocrifi 3. dalla Didascalia siriaca 4. da Afraat il sapiente 5. dall' autore anonimo, coetaneo di Afraat, che compose il così detto «liber graduum» stampato nella patrologia syriaca di monsignor Graffin, ma non pubblicato, di cui possediamo una copia fotografica fatta su un codice del secolo VI o VII; 6. dai commentarii biblici di s. Efrem, dalle sue omelie metriche e dai suoi innumerevoli inni 7. dagli atti dei martiri della Persia 8. dall' encomio dei martiri di S. Maruta, vescovo di Maiferket», I.E. RAHMANI, *I fasti della Chiesa*, 21-22.

[7] A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 165. See f.no. 73 of this Chapter to realize it as a misunderstanding.

[8] In this study, the citations from his *Praefatio* shall be mentioned as «Kmosko, *Praefatio*». Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, I-CCCVII. In the Chap. I: «*De codicibus Libri Graduum*», it treats all the MS sources that used for the critical edition. Cf. *Ibid*., I-XIV. The Chap. II: «*De argumento Libri Graduum*», gives the summary of the thirty *mēmrē*. Cf. *Ibid*., XIV-XXI. In the Chap. III «*De doctrina Libri Graduum*», Kmosko presents briefly the doctrinal themes of the *KM viz.*, the nature and attributes of God (who is One and Three), the creation and creatures, man, the redemption, the Church and Sacraments, the ethics, *etc*. Cf. *Ibid*., xxii-cxiv. The Chap. IV: «*De secta Messalianorum deque Libri Graduum ad eam necessitudine*», dedicates itself to bring out its Messalian connection. Cf. *Ibid*., CXV-CXLIX. We can see an attempt in the Chap. V: «*Quando et ubi Liber Graduum ortus est*» to locate the work in the history. Cf. *Ibid*., CXLIX-CLX. The Chap. VI: «*De fontibus doctrinae Libri Graduum*» makes an analysis of the biblical and other literary sources of the *KM*. Cf. *Ibid*., CLX-CLXIX. At the end we have two appendixes. The first one «*Antiquorum testimonia de historia et doctrina Messalianorum sectae*», provided major testimonies and documents regarding the Messalian movement. Cf. *Ibid*., CLXX-CCXCIII. Appendix 2 was the description and analysis MS R of 8th cent. which Kmosko received at the end of his preparation of the critical edition. Cf. *Ibid*., CCXCIV-CCCVI. Later in 1994 L. Wickham did attempt to rethink this first and the sole critical edition. Cf. L. WICKHAM, «The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited», 177-187.

[9] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, 933-1127.

[10] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, 1128-1153.

of biblical texts[11] used in the work. But unfortunately, he introduced this monumental work to the scholarly world with a Messalianism label[12].

Later scholars started to read this work through the Messalian coloured glass prepared by Kmosko and for the following three decades many focused their studies on the *KM* just to bring out its links with the Messalian controversy[13] and even now its Messalian character is under discussion. We can see some strong supporters of Kmosko, like A. Rücker[14], I. Hausherr[15], A. Kemmer[16] *etc*., who presented the *KM* as a typical Messalian work. After a long time these ideas were challenged. In 1954 A. Vööbus[17] opposed their arguments and initiated a defence of the *KM* by highlighting the non-Messalian elements in the work. Two immediate followers A. Adam[18] and J. Gribomont[19] who studied the *KM* were not fully in agreement with Vööbus. Ortiz de Urbina[20] followed many opinions of Kmosko and presented it as a work with Gnostic influence and

[11] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, 1154-1157.

[12] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CXV-CXLIX.

[13] Any studies on the *KM*, even after the decades of Kmosko's remark can't finish without saying something about its debated Messalian character. This study makes a discussion on it, see the section «3. The *KM* and the Messalianism» of this Chapter.

[14] Cf. A. RÜCKER, «Die Zitate», 342-354.

[15] Cf. I. HAUSHERR, «Quanam aetate», 495-502; ID., «L'erreur fondamentale», 328-360; ID., «Spiritualité Syrienne», 181-182.

[16] A. KEMMER, *Charisma maximum*, 52-91.

[17] A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 108-128; ID., *History of Asceticism*, I, 178-184; ID., *History of Asceticism*, III, 1-18.

[18] A. ADAM, «Rezension von A. Vööbus. *History of Asceticism*», 238-239.

[19] He wrote many articles those affirmed the messalian influence on the *KM*. He says: «le Liber Graduum, rappelle étrangement Eustathe et Aère. Son est de définir, sans entrer en conflit avec I'Eglise terrestre, une moralité ascétique supérieure. C'est le meme problème qu'à Gangres …». J. GRIBOMONT, «Le monachisme au IVe siècle», 404. But for Gribomont the Messalianism is not a heresy but a spiritual movement which influenced both Macarian homilies and the *KM*. He remarks: «J'entends ici par messalianisme, non pas précisement une secte hérétique, mais le movement spiritual représenté par les Homélies du "Macaire" et, en syriaque, par le Liber Graduum». See f.no. 8 in J. GRIBOMONT, «Les Homélies Asétiques de Philoxène», 422.

[20] The work is presented under the title «Scriptores syri occidentales saec. V et ineunte saec. VI». Cf. I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia syriaca*, 81-84. He found many heterodox teachings in it and says: «*Agens de Trinitate L.G.[LGr] sententias profert quae sabellianismus sapiunt… Peccatum originale consisit in concupiscentia… Etiam in doctrina de novissimis detegitur influxus gnosticismi*», *Ibid.*, 83-84.

which supports Sabellianism. However, many other scholars stood for the orthodoxy of the *KM* negating the Messalian accusation[21].

The following years some scholars[22] started to focus on many other aspects of this treasure, and several important studies were published. Some contributed a brief but relevant overview of the work[23]. The work is fully or partially translated into different modern languages[24]. Some dictionaries[25], encyclopediae[26], and patristic handbooks[27] provided space for it. The MS tradition[28] and the nature of the addressed community[29] were treated by some others. Its historical and political situation[30], the date of

[21] Cf. P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 368-374; A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 322; S.P. BROCK, «The Syriac Tradition», 206; R.A. RATCLIFF, *Steps along the Way of Perfection*, 33-99; C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 198-203. 227-233, *etc*.

[22] Cf. P. ARGÁRATE, «Ktābā dmasqātā oder Liber Graduum», 239-258, for an over view of the Scholarship in this field till 2011,

[23] Cf. D.J. LANE, «The Book of Grades or Steps», 81-88; S. BEGGIANI, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Spirituality*, 29-34.

[24] The details are given in the f.no. 8 of General Introduction, see pp. 7-8.

[25] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Liber Graduum», 749-754; J. GRIBOMONT, «Liber Graduum», 641-642; M.G. BIANCO, «Liber Graduum», 2817-2818.

[26] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Book of Steps», 85-86.

[27] Cf. P. BETTIOLO, «Liber Graduum (Late 4th – Early 5th Century)», 443-445.

[28] Almost 90 years after the publication of the first critical edition there are not many studies on the MS tradition of the *KM*. For a brief discussion Cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 53-71.

[29] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 311-322. In this article the author tries to place the *KM* in its context of composition. Without understanding the unique pneumatic spirituality of the Syriac speaking community a reader has multiple possibilities to judge the work as Messalian. Guillaumont suggested such a probability for the *KM* to be formed in a community where the Messalianism was present in the form of germs. T. Pettipiece did an attempt to trace the similarities between the Manicheans and the community of the *KM*. Cf. T. PETTIPIECE, «Parallel Paths», 32-40. According to R.A. Kitchen, this is «the intentional work of a distinct and distinctive community, in the 4th century Syriac Church» and it served the needs of that community as a form of canon or rule. Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Gattung of the Liber Graduum», 173-184. As in any other communities there existed many internal conflicts in the *KM* community. Nagel made a short study on the conflict existed among the «disciples of faith» and «disciples of love». Cf. P. NAGEL, «Die "Märtyrer des Glaubens"», 127-142. Caner in his monograph spoke about the stark vision of the *KM* of ascetic poverty and its frank discussion of what this meant in actual practice. Cf. D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 106-117.

[30] Cf. M. WESTERHOFF, «Das Bild vom Staat», 25-33; G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 9-31;

composition and authorship[31], the nature of the use of the Bible[32], the mode of the exegesis[33], the rhetorical method[34], the vision about prayer[35], *etc*., are studied by many other experts.

The *KM* is not at all an isolated work. It is very interesting to know about the different channels of its textual transmission[36]. The scholars analyzed the text of the *KM* and found some references or similar thoughts in different ancient literature like *Didache*[37], the *Sheperd of Hermas*[38], the

[31] Many of the above-mentioned scholars who did their studies about the *KM*, tried to put forward several hypotheses about the anonymous author. But the uncertainty continues. Davids finds some relation of the anonymous author of the *KM* with Pseudo-Macarius, cf. A.J.M. DAVIDS, «Von der Anonymität», 375-379. Usually the *mamlā* — the preface of the *KM* —was considered as the work of an anonymous editor of 6th cent. But in a recent study Smith provocatively questioned all the traditional standpoints and attributed its authorship to the anonymous author of the whole work. Cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 72-96.

[32] There are only few studies regarding the OT use in the *KM*. The possibility of the use of the book of Sirach is studied by Strothmann, cf. W. STROTHMANN, «Jesus-Sirach-Zitate bei Afrahat», 153-158. In one of my articles, I did a brief study on the nature of the OT usage in the *KM*, cf. M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Old Testament Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*», 152-173. In 1932 by analyzing the quotations from the NT found in the *KM*, A. Rücker stood in favour with the opinion of Kmosko that the author of the *KM* used *Diatessaron*, cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLXII; A. RÜCKER, «Die Zitate», 342-354. Later many scholars focused on this area to find out the sources of biblical quotations in the *KM*, cf. A. BAKER, «The Significance of the New Testament», 171-175; P. BETTIOLO, «Scritture e cristianesimi», 480. The *KM* is an important witness to the early text of Paul in the Syriac tradition. Some focused their research to find out its source of Pauline quotations, cf. J. KERSCHENSTEINER, *Der altsyrische Paulustext*, 159-161; M. WESTERHOFF, «Zur Paulus-Rezeption», 253-259; ID., *Das Paulusverständnis*; ID., «Did the Author of the Book of Steps», 119-128.

[33] To see the unique exegesis of the verse Phil 2:6 provided by the author of the *KM*, cf. A. LOUF, «Une ancienne exégèse», 523-533. There are many later studies on the authors mode of exegesis, cf. R. ROUX, «Biblical Exegesis», 99-118; W. STROTHMANN, «Jesus-Sirach-Zitate bei Afrahat», 153-158; A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 183-200; R.A. KITCHEN, «Making the Imperfect Perfect», 227-251.

[34] Cf. A. BÖHLIG, «Zur Rhetorik», 297-305.

[35] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, «Die Gebete», 273-281.

[36] G. Kessel opened a new way to discuss the textual history of the *KM* which brings into light the channels of the reception of the text in the later tradition, cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 53-71.

[37] In the *KM* there are some clear references or allusions to the *Didache*. Cf. PS III, 145[11-12](7,1) – alludes to *Did*. I, 2; PS III, 184[24-25](7,20) – alludes to *Did*. VIII, 1; PS III, 184[26]-185[2](7,20) – alludes to *Did*. VIII, 3; PS III, 308[21-23](13,2) – alludes to *Did*. IV, 1; PS III, 308[24-26](13,2) – alludes to *Did*. XIII, 3-7, *etc*. For the text of the *Didache*, cf. *The*

Gospel of Thomas[39], and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*[40]. Some extra-canonical quotations need further studies to find their origin[41]. This section cannot be skipped without mentioning its similarity with Pseudo-Macarian homilies[42], which played the main role in its accused Messalian link[43]. The similarities with the ascetical homilies of Philoxenos of Mabbug[44], the

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Didache, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic Fathers*, 344-369. For brief studies of influence of *Didache* on the *KM*, cf. K. NIEDERWIMMER, *The Didache*, 12-13; D. JUHL, *Die Askese im Liber Graduum*, 18-19.

[38] For allusions to *Herm(m).* VIII,10, cf. PS III, 193^{18}(8,2); *Herm(m)* VIII,10 and *Herm(s)* V, 3, cf. PS III, 257^{2-4} (10,5); *Herm(s)* I, 1-4, cf. PS III, 525^{5-8}(19,40) and *Herm(s)* VI, 5.5, cf. PS III, 837^{15-18}(29,10), Greek text and the English trans., *Shepherd of Hermas*, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic* Fathers, 445-685.

[39] The similarity with the Apocryphal work *Gospel of Thomas* is beyond doubt. It is an early Christian non-canonical gospel, discovered near Nag Hammadi, Egypt in December 1945. The *Ev.Thom.* was originally written in Coptic and composed of 114 sayings attributed to Jesus. For the English trans. of the apocryphal text, cf. «Gospel of Thomas», in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, tr. M.R. James, 49-70; *The Gospel of Thomas. Annoted and Explained*, tr. S. Davies. For some striking similarity in certain expressions of *Ev.Thom.* and the *KM*, cf. A. BAKER, «The 'Gospel of Thomas'», 49-55. ID., «Fasting to the World», 291-294; G. QUISPEL, «The Syrian Thomas», 226-235. For the analysis of those expressions in this dissertation, see Chap. I, section «3.5 *Reasons behind the Messalian Accusation of the KM*»; Chap. II, section «1.1.2 a) + Taste of Death» and Chap. III, section «1.3.1 The Body (ڦڂڹڒ) and the Perfection».

[40] The name of Thecla is mentioned twice in the *KM*. Cf. PS III, 772^{7-8}(27,3). For a brief study of the occurance of her name in the *KM*, cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 84. For more details see section «2.5.3 The Names of Certain Historical Persons» of this Chapter.

[41] Cf. E. STORI, «Alcune note sui detti extracanonici», 131-150; R. DORAN, «The Agraphon at Liber Graduum 3.3», 298-303.

[42] For a brief study made on it, see Chap. IV, section «3.6.2 Homilies of Pseudo-Macarius (4^{th} cent.)».

[43] Cf. E.A. DAVIDS, *Das Bild vom Neuen Menschen*, 100-110; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 269-271; J. MARTIKAINEN, «Das Böse in den Schriften des Syrers», 36-46.

[44] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 83; B. BITTON-ASHKELONY – S. MINOV, «"A person of Silence"», 107. For the Syriac text and the Eglish trans. of the homilies of Philoxenos of Mabbug, cf. E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, ed. – tr., *The Discourses of Philoxenus*. There is a later English trans. by R.A. Kitchen, cf. *The Discourses of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, tr. R.A. Kitchen. In his *Ascetical Homilies* or *Discourses* we can see the institutions of the «Perfect» and the «Upright» not as separated groups but as the progressive stages of spiritual growth, cf. P. HARB, «Le rôle exercé par Philoxène de Mabbug», 43-45; R.A. KITCHEN, *The Just and Perfect*; ID., *The Development of the Status of Perfection*; ID., Syriac Additions to Anderson», 1-47. In the *KM* same institutions are seen and many scholars presented these institutions as separate groups.

hymns of Chorepiscopus Balai for the consecration of the Church in Qennešrin[45], the corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite[46], are also notable.

The *KM* deserves special attention for its remarkable epistemological perspectives[47]. The Christological[48], the Pneumatological[49] and the Anthropological[50] approaches of the *KM* are also handled by many eminent scholars. Some others were interested in the spirituality[51] and the morality[52]

But is there a sharp dichotomic division in the mind of the author? It shall be discussed in the later discussions.

[45] See Chap. IV, section «3.6.3 Balai (early 5th cent.)».

[46] Cf. A. GOLITZIN, *Mystagogy*, 336-339.

[47] By analyzing the key concept 'break the mind' (ܥܨܡ ܕܚܒܪ) Childers try to reveal the epistemological attempts at work in the *KM*. The vital relationship between the purity of heart and the way to truth is explored in his recent article, cf. J.W. CHILDERS, «A Broken Mind», 131-155.

[48] Cf. R. ROUX, *Cristo esempio di umiltà da imitare*; ID., «Imitation of Christ», 259-264.

[49] A. GUILLAUMONT, «Les 'arrhes de l'Esprit'», 107-113.

[50] The anthropological doctrine of the *KM*, is treated carefully in certain articles. The *KM* gave importance to the angelic stage of man – the state in Eden before his fall, cf. M. AVETA, «Ad instar angelorum», 501-520; P. BETTIOLO, «Adamo in Eden e la liturgia celeste», 274-305.

[51] P. Bettiolo stressed the theme of discernment of commandments. Only through this gift one can understand the dignity and the needs of the Christian life, cf. P. BETTIOLO, «Confessare Dio», 631-651. In the *KM* the state of Perfection is characterized by unlimited love and forgiveness. P. Argárate tries to reveal this close association between perfection and love, cf. P. ARGÁRATE, «The Perfect and Perfection», 156-172. The spiritual growth is symbolically represented in the *KM* using dietary imageries. A study is made on it by K.E. Bryant, cf. K.E. BRYANT, «You Are What You Eat», 173-189. Not only the «growth» but also the «fall», *i.e.* the «sin» became the subject matter of research. T.S. Harmon extracted its depiction in the *KM* and presented it as a matter of broken relationship, cf. T.S. HARMON, «Falling from the Path of Perfection», 190-202. J.H. Corbett analyzed the style of the life of the Perfect, cf. J.H. CORBETT, «They Do Not Take Wives», 3-20.

[52] The violence and killing in the *KM* appears as a real threat of the true Christian spirituality which should be based on peace and love of Christ. S. AbouZayd tried to analyze the historical and cultural reasons behind this strange mood of the *KM* community which is believed to be ascetics, cf. S. ABOUZAYD, «Violence and Killing», 451-465. What was the attitude of the *KM* community towards the use of alcohol? While focusing on the same matter in the Syriac ascetic tradition in general AbouZayd analyzed the teaching of the *KM* too, which instructs the 'solitaries' (ܡܫܬܕܟ) to abstain from 'meat and wine' (ܒܣܪܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ), cf. PS III, 850[20-22](29,16). At the same time the *KM* consider wine as a 'simple medicine that given to us by God' (ܒܣܡܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ

of the *KM* community. The *KM* is not a purely monastic literature and it is not an address of an abbot to his monks. However, the *KM* community itself was the cradle of many ascetic practices like the quest for searching and attaining holiness[53] through celibacy[54], purity of heart[55], humility[56], *etc.* As it is mentioned already, the *KM* exhorts a community, which in itself is ascetic[57] to walk under the guidance of the Church towards the «Perfection (ܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ / *gmīrūtā*)[58]». The ecclesiological aspects of the *KM* are briefly

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ܪܡܫ ܠ ܫܡ) and instructs that we might 'put oil and wine upon our wounds' (ܕܢܣܟ ܒܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܕܢܫܬܐ), cf. PS III, 177[21]-180[1](7,18); S. ABOUZAYD, «The Prohibition and the Use of Alcohol», 136.146. As in any human culture, there existed in the *KM* community too, some affinities to practice magic to achieve certain immediate effects. M. Parmentier in his recent study focused on the exhortations of the *KM* on such deviated practices. He made it clear that the *KM* not only rejected such malpractices but conveyed a great perennial message valid even to the present Christian communities. It affirmed that healing comes through the name of Christ, and even in its absence pain and suffering should be accepted as steps towards eternal glorification, cf. M. PARMENTIER, «The Book of Steps on Magic», 41-50.

[53] Holiness is usually equated with the sexual renunciation and celibacy. We have a theological examination of the holiness in the *KM* by R.A. Kitchen, cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «Disturbed Sinners», 205-220.

[54] It is notable that there are references to encratic inclinations in the *KM*. The celibacy was considered as the door to perfection. But at the same time, the *KM* accepts the institution of 'Marriage' as God's alternative order for the Upright. S. Minov studied about the *KM*'s vision about marriage and sexuality, cf. S. MINOV, «Marriage and Sexuality», 221-261.

[55] The *KM* is actually a travelogue, an account of journey of perfection towards the city of God. The seat of this perfection or holiness is depicted as the 'heart'. But for attaining this holiness both the «body» and the «heart» must work together. Here the work of the «heart» is invisible. Through his two articles K. Kollamparampil tries to explain this «hidden work of the heart» which fosters the spiritual progress, cf. T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «'Hidden Work' of the Heart in Liber Graduum», 299-309; ID., «"Hidden Work" of the Heart and Spiritual Progression», 262-272.

[56] The *KM* presented «humility» as the unique way of imitation of Christ. J. Scully holds that in order to be raised up this attitude of lowering is required and it is the kernel of the ascetical system of the *KM*, cf. J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 297-312.

[57] A. Kofsky and S. Ruzer focused on the *mēmrā* XXI, which dealt the origins of humanity in Eden in detail, and presented the *KM* as an ascetic manifesto which exhorts us to regain the state of Adam before the fall, cf. A. KOFSKY – S. RUZER, «Reading the Ascetic Ideal», 273-296.

[58] The detailed study on this key term is there in the Chap. II, section «1.1.1 The Perfection (ܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ)». This study refers to the state of perfection defined in the *KM* with the term «the Perfection» — the term starts with the capital letter and uses with the

treated by R. Murray and R. Roux[59]. Since the work is addressed to a believing community, a local Church – whose nature is still under discussion, this field demands more serious reflections. In this study, we try to analyze the *KM*'s vision on the triple gradated Church and shall make a search to find whether it has any similarity with that of Aphrahat and John the Solitary[60].

The merits and results of many doctoral researches[61] done on the *KM* should be appreciated. Many are continuing their research on it and conferences are conducted to foster its further studies[62]. However, still it is not possible to claim that this substantial and fascinating collection of homilies are studied and grasped as it deserves. Hence this complex but inspiring text merits the time and readiness of many young researchers including me to explore its hidden riches.

2. A General Analysis of the Work

The *KM* is the outcome of the rigorous self-examination of an ascetically oriented community having high moral aspirations. It raises basic questions that the humanity encounter even at present while dealing with the spiritual life. It consists of scattered and unsystematic instructions for «constant vigilance and discernment, at all levels of spiritual progress and the proper life of observances, in all life situations for spiritual

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definite article — in other general cases with small letter 'p', «perfection». Similarly the persons who attained the state of perfection of the *KM* are «the Perfect».

[59] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 262-276; R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 53-72.

[60] See Chap. III, sections 2 and 3.

[61] Cf. B. PRESSER., *A Liber Graduum. Keletkezése*; R.A. KITCHEN, *The Just and Perfect*; ID., *The Development of the Status of Perfection*; Y. MIRKIS, *Le Liber Graduum*; R.A. RATCLIFF, *Steps along the Way of Perfection*; A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*; R. ROUX, *Cristo esempio di umiltà da imitare*; D. JUHL, *Die Askese im Liber Graduum*; G. FUCHS, *Auflehnung und Fall*; F.J. PARSONS, *The Nature of the Gospel Quotations*. The bibliography provided consists of the details of the books those are consulted and quoted. However an exception is taken in the case of dissertations. The details of certain dissertations that are not seen are also included with the indication «non vidimus» for the completion of the *Satus Quaestionis*.

[62] In 2007 two major conferences shed much light on the *KM*. Four papers on the *KM*, were presented in the Fifth North American Syriac Symposium, hosted by the University of Toronto. In fifteenth International Patristic Conference at the University of Oxford again nine papers were presented, cf. K.S. HEAL – R.A. KITCHEN, *Breaking the Mind*, 2-3.

perfection»[63]. The spiritual vision and insights of this work reveal the ascetical views and the spiritual theology indigenous[64] to a community, which was almost isolated from other Christians[65]. In order to comprehend this complex work it is necessary to learn the thought patterns of the author and the addressed community. This Chapter makes such an attempt.

2.1 *The Structure and the Literary Style*

The *KM* consists of 30 ܡܐܡܪܐ (*mēmrē*) or Sermons, prefaced by a ܡܠܠܐ (*mamlā*)[66]. These 30 *mēmrē* are of «varying length and written in several genres: sermons, rules of the ascetic life, biblical exegeses, and theological controversies»[67]. A table is given below to have a glance at these *mēmrē* as it is arranged in the Kmosko edition. Titles are provided for many *mēmrē* in MSS, but in some cases, the first line served as the title[68].

Number	Title of the *mēmrā*	Column number in PS III
	ܡܠܠܐ	1-10
I	A particular title is not given at the beginning of the first *mēmrā* but it is concluded as: ܥܠܡ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܡܕܡܟ ܕܠ ܫܢܝ ܫܡܫܐ (the end of the first *mēmrā* on the discernment of the commandments)	11-24
II	ܠ ܡܠܝ ܕܨܒ ܕܢܬܟܡܠ (About those who want to become Perfect)	25-44

[63] T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «A Holistic Vision to Spirituality», 84.

[64] R.A. Kitchen explained the reason for their uniqueness as: «It is, to be sure, an isolated Christian Church which was not aware of and so not entangled in many of the Christological and political controversies raging in the West. This particular community does not yet know monasticism in its classical form, but the author and the students do understand and practice the ascetical life», *The Syriac Book of* Steps, I, tr. R.A. Kitchen, vii-viii.

[65] Cf. T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «A Holistic Vision to Spirituality», 85.

[66] Cf. PS III, 1-10. ܡܠܠܐ means 'speech', 'talk' *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 777. In this context ܡܠܠܐ is the preface of the Syriac editor who compiled these 30 *mēmrē.*

[67] *The Syriac Book of Steps*, II, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, vii.

[68] *E.g. mēmrē* 17, 26, 30.

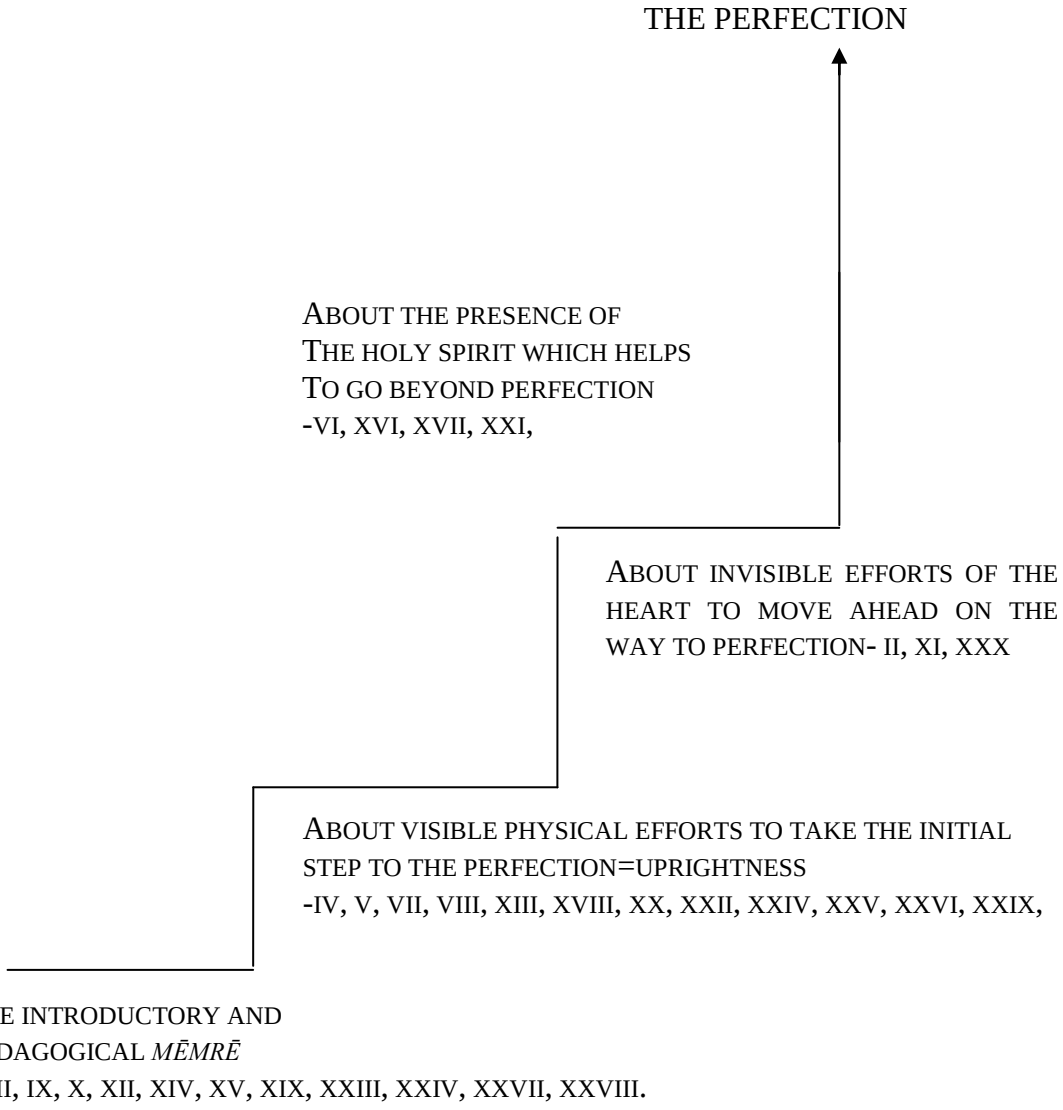
III	ܕ̈ܒ̈ܫ̈ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܕ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܥ̈ (The physical and the spiritual ministry)	45-82
IV	ܕ̈ܡ̈ܨ̈ܥ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ ܠ̈ܥ̈ (On vegetables for the sick)	83-98
V	ܕ̈ܥ̈ܠ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܚ̈ܠ̈ܒ̈ ܠ̈ܥ̈ (On milk of the children)	99-138
VI	ܬ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܝ̈ܚ̈ܝ̈ ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ̈ܒ̈ܝ̈ ̈ܠ̈ܥ̈ (On those who are made perfect and continue to grow)	139-144
VII	ܕ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܨ̈ܒ̈ܐ ̈ܠ̈ܥ̈ (The commandments of the Upright)	145-188
VIII	ܕ̈ܚ̈ܩ̈ܝ̈ ̈ܡ̈ܐ ̈ܠ̈ ̈ܝ̈ ̈ܐ ̈ܠ̈ ̈ܥ̈ (On one who gives all he has to feed the poor)	189-200
IX	̈ܩ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܐ ̈ܕ̈ܟ̈ܐ ̈ܐ̈ ̈ܠ̈ ̈ܐ̈ ̈ܕ̈ ̈ܠ̈ ̈ܥ̈ (On uprightness and the Love of the Upright and the Prophets)	201-248
X	It is against over-spiritualization of ascetical practices, but included in the work without a proper title	249-269
XI	̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ̈ܐ̈ ̈ܕ̈ ̈ܝ̈ ̈ ̈

XVIII	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܨܠܘܬܐ (On the tears of prayer)	432-444
XIX	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܐܪܚܐ ܕܟܠܝܠܘܬܐ (On the discernment of the way of perfection)	445-524
XX	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܕܫܒܝܠܐ ܩܫܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ (On the difficult steps that are on the road of the city of Our Lord)	528-581
XXI	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܕܡ (On the Tree of Adam)	583-632
XXII	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܢܛܪܝܗܘܢ (On the judgments that do not save those who observe them)	633-690
XXIII	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܕܫܛܢ ܘܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܐܣܪܝܠ (On Satan and Pharoah and the sons of Israelites)	691-712
XXIV	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܬܘܒܬܐ (On repentance)	713-732
XXV	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܩܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܫܛܢ (On the voice of God and of Satan)	733-756
XXVI	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ (On the second law that the Lord established from Adam)	757-766
XXVII	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܓܢܒܐ[69] (About the history of Robbers)	767-784
XXVIII	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܝ ܕܕܡܐ (On the fact that the human soul is not the blood)	785-806
XXIX	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ (On the discipline of the body)	807-858
XXX	ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܪܚܡܐ ܕܚܝܕܝܐ (On the commandments of faith and the love of the solitaries)	859-932

The chart given below suggests a possible grouping of thirty *mēmrē* in the point of view of triple gradation.

[69] In MS R the title given to this *mēmrā* is «ܥܠ ܡܠܝ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܓܢܒܐ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ - About the history of the thief who is saved», cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's*, 379. A list of *mēmrā* titles is given in *Ibid.*, 377-380.

THE *KM*: A TRAVEL GUIDE FOR THE JOURNEY TO THE PERFECTION



As it is known, the *KM* is not a deliberately prepared scientific treatise. For L. Wickham neither the present arrangement nor the title is original[70]. It is surely a collected work written over a period of years, out of a pastoral need to guide a community of faithful on their way to spiritual progress, so its thought and character are not stable. The circumstances, the problems, the perspectives *etc*., of both the author and the addressed community were fluctuating although it is amazing to see a kind of golden thread that kept

[70] Cf. L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 488.

the *KM* as a single unit. Nevertheless, it is not so fair to think that there existed a prefixed order for these 30 *mēmrē*. It is hard to suggest anything as author's schema. Kmosko, the critical editor followed the order as it is found in the MSS[71]. Hence, it is open to any kind of groupings[72]. This study suggest a grouping system as shown in the chart above which support the author's triple gradated pattern. Hopefully by the end of this study it may prove to be more enlightening.

The *KM* is generally accepted as a Semitic work[73]. It is hard to see any systematic theology in it. The author presents his spiritual guidelines using

[71] Cf. L. WICKHAM, «The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited», 178.

[72] Kmosko divided the work into two unequal sections: *pars didactica* (I-XXI) and *pars polemica* (XXII-XXX), cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, I-XIV. R.A. Kitchen and F.G.M. Parmentire presented them in three broad sections: Basic Commandments (I-IX), Advanced Perfection (X-XXIV), later period and redemption of the Upright (XXV-XXX), cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, tr., xxix- xxxviii. But later R.A. Kitchen suggested a different grouping, cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «Becoming Perfect», 31.

[73] For A. Baumstark the *KM* could be the translation of a lost Greek work with the title *The Book of Ladder* by a certain Romanos. The information about this work is deduced only from the writings of his contemporary Severus of Antioch who engaged in polemical activity against that work. Baumstark does not believe that it goes back to the era of the last Apostle's disciples nor is it one of the earliest texts in the ancient Syriac Christian corpus. He says: «Zu nennen ist hier ferner ein, "B der Stufen" in 31 Abschnitten, wenn anders es nicht, wie unter Hinaufrückung seiner Entstehung bis in das Zeitalter der letzten Apostelschüler behauptet wird, eines der ältesten Denkmäler christlich-syrischer Originalliteratur, sondern mit einem gleichbetitelten naturgemäß griechisch abgefaßten Werke eines Romanos identisch ist, gegen das Severus v Antiocheia offenbar als gegen dasjenige eines Zeitgenossen polemisierte», A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 165. But a later scholar A. Kowalski is very sure about its Semitic origin. He strongly disagrees with A. Baumstark. He shows the difference of the *KM* from that work of Romanos. The title contains the word ܕܪܓܐ which means 'grades' not ܣܠܡܐ, 'ladder'. There is no exegesis of the John 2 in the *KM*. Expressions like 'natural sin', 'spirit of fornication', *etc*., are absent. It does not equate Adam with Cain and never speaks about Jews and about the spirit, of the baptism of Adam operated by Satan. All these are the principal arguments cited by Severus from the above mentioned Greek work. A. Kowalsi concludes: «Chi sostiene l'indetià di questi due scritti, dimostra di non aver letto almeno uno di essi. A favore della lingua originale siriaca del LG parlano i legami con le tradizioni e con il linguaggio teologico dei padri siri, nonché certe associazioni linguistiche imposssibili in greco, come 'abdâ (servo) -'abôdâ (Fattore) (19, 22 col.489,17-18), mârâ marrîrâ (signore amaro) (20, 13 col. 565, 2), melkâ (consiglio) – malkâ (re) (21,9 col. 609, 4.6) o interpretazione di Ef 1, 10 nel senso: rinnovare da capo. È quindi ben fondata l'opinione generalmente accettata

the framework of salvation history. He has a clear vision about «the progress of human beings from creation, through fall and recovery, and on towards perfection»[74] — a perfection intended for them by God. Being a Syriac spiritual work, the content, as well as the literary style of the *KM*, is strange to the western scholastic frame and the Greek philosophic mind. Hence, many western scholars who have studied this decisive work made it controversial, leaving much room for further reflection and research. To a certain extent, accusations against the orthodoxy of the *KM* resulted from the judgments made by such 'biased' minds. Many of the Syriac writers consider the elements of this visible world as windows to see the invisible divine mysteries[75]. The literary style of the *KM* is also along the same lines. Hence, the symbolic language of this ancient Syriac literature must be studied using its own categories, understanding the context and background of its composition. Otherwise, while giving too much emphasis on analysis of its terminology, the perennial message that it wished to impart will not get the deserved attention.

2.2 *The Title*

It is not possible to find a proper title in the original MSS, and in fact, the author of the *mamlā* does not give it a title. W. Wright refers to its MS BL Add.17,193 as «an extract from the 'Κλῖμαξ', 'Ladder', or 'Book of Steps'[76]. However, the editor of its critical edition, M. Kmosko, takes the Syriac title, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ which he found in seven MSS[77], and translated it into Latin as the *Liber Graduum*. This great Syriac treasure thus became known under this Latin title, which hides its linguistic origin. This study use the Syriac title ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ / *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* abbreviated as *KM* in order to be faithful to its original language. Here ܟܬܒܐ means 'book'[78] and the main term ܡܫܚܬܐ[79] is derived from the root ܫܚܩ which means 'to

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che considera il LG un documento rappresentativo del cristianesimo siriaco...», A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 213-214.

[74] C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 87.

[75] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 239-276; S.P. BROCK, *The Luminous Eye*, 27-30. 71-79.

[76] Cf. Section no. DCCCLXI, 5 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 989.

[77] The MSS C, D, E, Z, γ, ε and η, cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, XIV. For the details about those MSS, see the section 2.3 of this Chapter.

[78] Cf. Payne Smith, 230.

[79] Cf. Payne Smith, 286.

go up', 'to ascend'[80] *etc*. Thus, the title *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* has many shades of meaning such as the 'Book of steps / degrees / ascents / grades' *etc*. Interestingly the words ܡܬܨܥܕܐ and ܡܨܥܕܐ are present only in two *mēmrē viz*., nineteen[81] and twenty[82], where they refer to the higher levels that a Christian attains on the climb towards the heavenly City of the Kingdom[83]. The later scholar, L. Wickham, is not satisfied with this title and he suggests a new one as the author's own original title having found it in the colophon of MS R: «ܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܚܝܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܪ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܚܝܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܪ ܗܕܐ» and translated it as «On the mode of life of 'full maturity' and the 'discrimination of Our Lord's commandments»[84]. Ignatius Aphrem Barṣoum, the late Patriarch of Syrian Orthodox Church agrees with Wickham. Based on the same MS of the Jerusalem Library he gives the title «The Book of the Perfect Life and the Explanation of the Commandments of Our Lord»[85]. All these titles actually convey the same sense of an ascent to spiritual perfection, while those suggested by Wickham and Barṣoum describe and perfect the first title the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*.

2.3 *The Manuscripts*

There are many MSS that contain the text of the *KM* fully or partially. Many new scholars are continuing their work to discover new MSS that contain fragments of this huge work.

2.3.1 The MSS Used by Kmosko

Kmosko dedicated the first chapter of his *Praefatio* «*De codicibus Libri Graduum*», to speak about the MSS that he used for his critical edition[86]. The list of those MSS, two of them which contain the full text of the *KM* and other fourteen minor ones are given in the following chart.

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[80] Cf. Payne Smith, 379.
[81] Cf. PS III, $529^{7.16.24}$(20,2-3).
[82] Cf. PS III, $452^{1.7.14}$(19,2).
[83] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Book of Steps», 85.
[84] L. WICKHAM, «The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited», 179.
[85] I.A. BARSOUM, *The Scattered Pearls*, tr. M. Moosa, 139.
[86] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, I-XIV.

	Name	f /ff	Date / Century	*mēmrē*	Attributed Authorship
α	BnF syr. 201[87]	172-281[a]	12th-13th	1-30	Anonymous
R	St. Mark. Syrus 180[88]		7th- 8th	1-30	Abba Philo
A	BL Add. 14,578[89]	102[a]	6th or 7th	14	Evagrius Ponticus
B	BL Add. 14,612[90]	139[a]	6th or 7th	20	
C	BL Add. 18,814[91]	29[a], 37[a]	7th-8th	16,19	16th and 19th to John the Monk

[87] This is the basic MS used by Kmosko and he dated it back to the 12th cent., cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, I. In the catalogue of H. Zotenberg we have a detailed description about this MS, but he placed it in the 13th cent., cf. H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogues des manuscrits*, 149-152. In addition to the *KM*, this MS contains 13 *Ascetical Discourses* of Philoxenos of Mabbug, the 6th Letter of Ammonius – the abbot of Scete, the second Letter of St. Basil to his brother Gregory, some sayings of Xystus, some extracts from the *Life of Fathers* of Palladius, Letter of St. Antony to monks, and some other minor fragments. The description about the *KM* is numbered as 201, 9^0 (f. 174), thirty homilies of an anonymous author, but the editor H. Zotenberg expressed a doubt 'Eusèbe le moine?', cf. *Ibid*., 150.

[88] It is from the library of the Syrian Orthodox monastery of St. Mark, in Jerusalem and copied around 7th to 8th cent. It was made available to Kmosko when he came to the end of the preparation of the critical edition, so he could make certain references on it, cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, VIII-IX; CCXCIV-CCXCVI. In the catalogue of F.Y. Dolabany it is numbered as «180», cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in St. Mark's*, 377-380. In addition to the *KM*, this MS contains *Logoi* I-V of Abba Isaiah's *Asketicon*. In the MS α, the *mamlā* includes a portion from *mēmrā* XXX as a preview and it is never repeated at the last section. But in R, the fragment repeated.

[89] This MS is in a regular *estrangela* of 6th or 7th cent. The *mēmrā* XIV is there under the works of Evagrius in f. 102a. The catalogue presents it with the title «On the Just and the Perfect - ܥܠ ܙܕܝܩܐ ܘ ܫܠܡܐ» and the beginning sentence, cf. section DLXVII, 11 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 446.

[90] Cf. Section DCCLIII, 20 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 698.

[91] Cf. Section DCCLXVII, 2 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 734.

D	BL Add. 12,160[92]	153[a], 156[b]	7th-8th	19	
E	BL Add. 14,621[93]	112[a], 134[a], 136[a], 144[a]	802 AD	14,18,20, 29	14th to Evagrius Ponticus
β	BL Add. 14,613[94]	1[a], 26[a], 33[b], 36[b],40[b],21[b],43[b],47[b],53[b],12[b],79[a],53[b],12[b],79[a], 55[a],58[b],2[a],85[b], 9[a], 96[a],106[a]	9th -10th	3,4,5,8,10,11, 12,13, 15,16,18,19, 21,24,26, 28,29, 30, *mamlā*	
γ	BL Add. 17,178[95]	87[b],82[b],86[b], 87[b],72[b]	11th-2th	1,2,13,14,19	
δ	BL Add. 14,611[96]	9[b]	10th	29	
ε	BL Add. 17,180[97]	7[b]	11th	2	
ζ	Rich. 7,190[98]	80[b]	12th-13th	14	Evagrius

[92] Among the MSS used by Kmosko BL Add. 12,160 differs from others, those are of ascetic contents while this contains the lives of the saints. This MS contains in addition to the extracts from the *KM*, the lives of Abraham Kidunaya, Julian Saba, the history of 'Man of God from the city of Rome' who lived in the time of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, the history of Paul the Bishop and John the Priest, the history of Youths of Ephesus and the second discourse of Xystus, Bishop of Rome. The concerned text of the *KM* is written in a current hand of the 7th cent. W. Wright mentioned it as a discourse entitled, «ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܢܝܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܘܪܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܪܗܘܡܐ». He also remarked that from this 'Κλῖμαξ' or 'Ladder', there are extracts in several other MSS and in one called Add. 17,193, f. 3[a], it is attributed to Eusebius the Monk «ܡܫܠ ܕܝ ܐܣܒܝܘܣ ܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܣܛܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ», cf. section DCCCCXLII, II,1 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, III, 1091.

[93] Cf. Section DCCLXIX, 4 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 757.

[94] Cf. Section DCCCVI, 1 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 810.

[95] Cf. Section DCCCXXVIII, 13 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 856.

[96] Cf. Section DCCCXIII, 2.d. in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 824.

[97] Cf. Section DCCCXXVI, 2 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 852.

[98] Cf. J. FORSHALL – F. ROSEN, *Catalogue*, I, 78.

η	BL Add. 17,728[99]	28[b]	13[th]	2	
Z	Vat. Syr. 123[100]	193[a], 196[b],185[r]	8[th]-9[th]	2,14,20	
N	Cod. Syr. Prof. Neumann 3s[101].	115[a]	9[th]	20	
	BL Add. 17,193[102]	3[a]		a fragment from 29[th] *mēmrā*	Eusebius

2.3.2 The Discoveries of New MSS

Recent Scholars did new discoveries of MSS containing the fragments of the *KM* under the name of certain other writers. J. Muyldermans discovered a MS with *mēmrā* XIV attributed to Evagrius[103] and provided the critical edition[104] and the French translation[105]. However, she could not identify the text as the part of the *KM*, until A. Vööbus identified its origin[106]. W. Strothmann also discovered fragments from *mēmrā* XXIX incorporated in a corpus attributed either to John the Solitary or to Macarius[107]. In the MS,

[99] Cf. Section DCCCXLII, 4, in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 882.

[100] Cf. ASSEMANI, *Catal.*, III, 139-143. The MS of the *KM* in codex Vat. Syr. 123 is available on-line with the description that «185r-198v sections from Liber Graduum», cf. [accessed: 10.05.2016], http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.123/0373?sid=e05250cd2ac884dc868e59028c8a7daf.

[101] In this codex of Syriac MSS known under the name of Prof. Guilelmi Neumann of 8[th] cent., there are many ascetical writings as Kmosko remarks: «*Continet scripta ascetica Isaiae Scetici, Isaaci Ninivitae, Palladii, Athanasii, Chrysostomi, atque Macarii. F. 115[a] exhibet Sermonem XX...*», cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, viii.

[102] Wright describes that Folios 3[a] includes an extract from the *Ladder* or the *Book of Steps*. Here it is ascribed to Eusebius the monk, cf. section DCCCLXI, 5 in W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, II, 989. After his study on the concerned text, Kmosko made it clear that it contains a brief commentary on 1Cor 5:5, in which a fragment from *mēmrā* XXIX, *i.e.* PS III, 821[22]-823[14](29,4) was inserted without reference to the original source, cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, XII.

[103] Cf. J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca*, 81-82.

[104] Cf. J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca*, 105-109.

[105] Cf. J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca*, 143-146.

[106] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 113.

[107] Cf. W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, 37-38.

BL Or. 6714[108], C. Chahine could identify a fragment from the *KM* along with the works of Abraham of Netprā, an East Syriac Author of 6th or 7th cent.[109]. Regarding the transmission of the *KM*, this MS is a precious and unique piece of evidence that proves its circulation in the East Syriac tradition. G. Kessel[110] while studying the monastic anthologies found a fragment from *mēmrā* XVI[111] attributed to a virtually unknown Monk Thomas[112]. The Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Ignatius Barsoum identified this unknown man as Monk Thomas whose life was described by Michael the Great (1126-1199 AD) in his *Chronicle*[113], although he failed to provide sound arguments for proving his suppositions. Later, after analyzing the 15 MSS from the Syriac Orthodox circle, belonging to the period between 13th and beginning of 20th cent., which contain a brief text attributed to an unknown Monk Thomas, G. Kessel supported Barsoum's view saying that «the external evidence of the MS tradition makes it plausible to bring together the Thomas who is the author of the text with the Thomas portrayed by Michael the Great, and thus to confirm the probability of Patriarch Barsoum's conjecture»[114]. Out of these 15 MSS, eight, *viz*., Sachau 352 (13th cent.)[115], BnF syr.195 (1469-1470 AD)[116], Mardin, Church

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[108] In Šubḥalmaran's *Book of Gifts* we have the description of BL Or. 6714, cf. ŠUBḤALMARAN, The *Book of Gifts*, D.J. LANE, ed., 5-8.

[109] BL Or. 6714 contains a fragment from *mēmrā* XXIX incorporated into the treatise attributed to Abraham of Netprā «Commandments and admonitions». Brock identified the same work in Mingana syr. 601 as consisting of extracts of the *Expositions* of Aphrahat, cf. S.P. BROCK, «John the Solitary. On Prayer», 85. C. Chahine could find in BL Or. 6714 the same work of Abraham of Netprā along with 4 fragments, two from the *Expositions* of Aphrahat, one from the *mēmrā* XXIX of the *KM* and the fourth still unidentified. Cf. C. CHAHINE, *Abraham de Bēt-Netprā*, 46.

[110] Cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 60-71.

[111] PS III, 408^{25}-409^{3}(16,11).

[112] G. Kessel explained the details with an English trans. of the fragment from Michael the Great's *Chronicle* concerning Thomas, cf. G. Kessel, «The 'Letter' of Thomas the Monk», 43-100. Kessel explained the logic behind the transmission of the fragment of the *KM*, under the name of Thomas. In the oldest MS Sachau 352, the fragment was not attributed to Thomas but stood directly next to the *Letter of Thomas* with its personal and independent title. Since this fragment of the *KM* is from an anonymous author, in course of time gradually the text is attributed to Thomas and was inserted in between the two parts of the *Letter of Thomas* because of some similarity existed among them, cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 63-64.

[113] Cf. I.A. BARSOUM, *The Scattered Pearls*, tr. M. Moosa, 138, 171.

[114] G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 63.

[115] E. SACHAU, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften*, II, 638-646.

of Forty Martyrs 420 (*olim* Deir al – Za'farān / Dolabany110, 1472 AD)[117], Mardin, Church of Forty Martyrs 422 (*olim* Deir al – Za'farān / Dolabany 109, 1473-1474 AD)[118], Church of Forty Martyrs 417 (*olim* Deir al – Za'farān / Dolabany 108, 1474 AD)[119], Church of Forty Martyrs 157 (*olim* Deir al – Za'farān / Dolabany 75 (16th to 17th cent.)[120], Rahmani 302 (1698-1699 AD)[121] and HHL syr. 48 (1796-1797 AD)[122] date back from 13th to 18th cent. and belong to the genre of monastic anthologies which also contain the fragment from *mēmrā* XVI. There is nothing wrong in expecting more discoveries of MSS by future scholars. This long analysis of the MSS is done with a purpose to understand the channels of the transmission of the *KM*.

2.4 *The Textual Transmission of the KM*

While considering the tradition of these MSS, it is possible to sketch in some ideas for its transmission. The opinions of S.P. Brock[123] about the pattern of the transmission of the Syriac literature is exactly the same as here in the transmission of the *KM*. Brock made it clear that the copying of the whole corpus of a work happened only at primary level *i.e.* before 1000 AD. After that time ancient Syriac works were only partially copied according to how apt they were to specific situations.

An observer can see that even though never quoted by name, the *KM* was considered as an inspiring text to be copied and handed down in Syrian monasteries of different traditions. The presence of numerous MSS indicates its wide circulation. It was not altogether an isolated, marginalized sectarian[124] work or heretical corpus as many have commented. It is noticeable that the fourteen minor MSS used by Kmosko

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[116] This is of 1469-1470 AD, cf. H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogues des manuscrits*, 138-140.

[117] Cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Za'farān*, 67-76.

[118] Cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Za'farān*, 62-67.

[119] Cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Za'farān*, 52-62. In the catalogue, this MS is erroneously numbered as 109, but it should be 108. See the f.no. 37 in G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 61.

[120] Cf. F.Y. DOLABANY, *Catalogue of Za'farān*, 292-295.

[121] Cf. P. SHERWOOD, «Le fonds patriarcal», 102.

[122] Cf. M.H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 57.

[123] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «Without Mushē of Nisibis», 15-24.

[124] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Gattung of the Liber Graduum», 176; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 263.

are collections of ascetic works and many are of the nature of monastic anthologies[125]. Most of them were seen with the works of great mystics like Evagrius, John the Solitary, *etc*. All these MSS except Cod.Syr.Prof.Neumann 3s are from Syriac Orthodox circles, while Cod.Syr.Prof.Neumann 3s is a Syriac Chalcedonian monastic anthology of 9th cent. This is the only witness of the circulation of the *KM* among the Syriac Chalcedonian (Melkite) tradition[126]. It is already said that the BL Or. 6714, the only MS of Eastern Syriac provenance[127]. Hence, Kessel's remark is noteworthy:

> at least some *mēmrē* of the Book of Steps — being written at the dawn of the history of Syriac Monasticism for a particular community — were appreciated mainly by Syriac Orthodox, but also by East Syriac and Syriac Chalcedonian monks, who, while reading them more than a thousand years after their composition, still found in them valuable impetuses contributing to the accomplishment of their monastic commitment[128].

It is true that the passages from the *KM* with proper references are not found in the later literature. According to Kitchen it can be a reason for the negligence that the *KM* faced for many years in scholarly circles. He observes:

> The major problem for the study of the *Liber Graduum* is that its theology of asceticism apparently disappears from the chronicles and literature of the Syriac Church. Its singularity works to further isolate the *Liber Graduum* from the historical record, making it appear as an exception rather than part of the rule[129].

However, the observation of Kitchen expresses only a partial truth. All the above-mentioned manifold branches of the textual transmission of the *KM*, witness the wide circulation of the text fully or partially during the medieval period to the present time.

The textual transmission of the *KM* that follows the traditional style can be summarized as shown in the diagram below:

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[125] For the basic knowledge of the compilation of monastic anthologies, cf. H.TEULE, «Les compilations», 249-264.

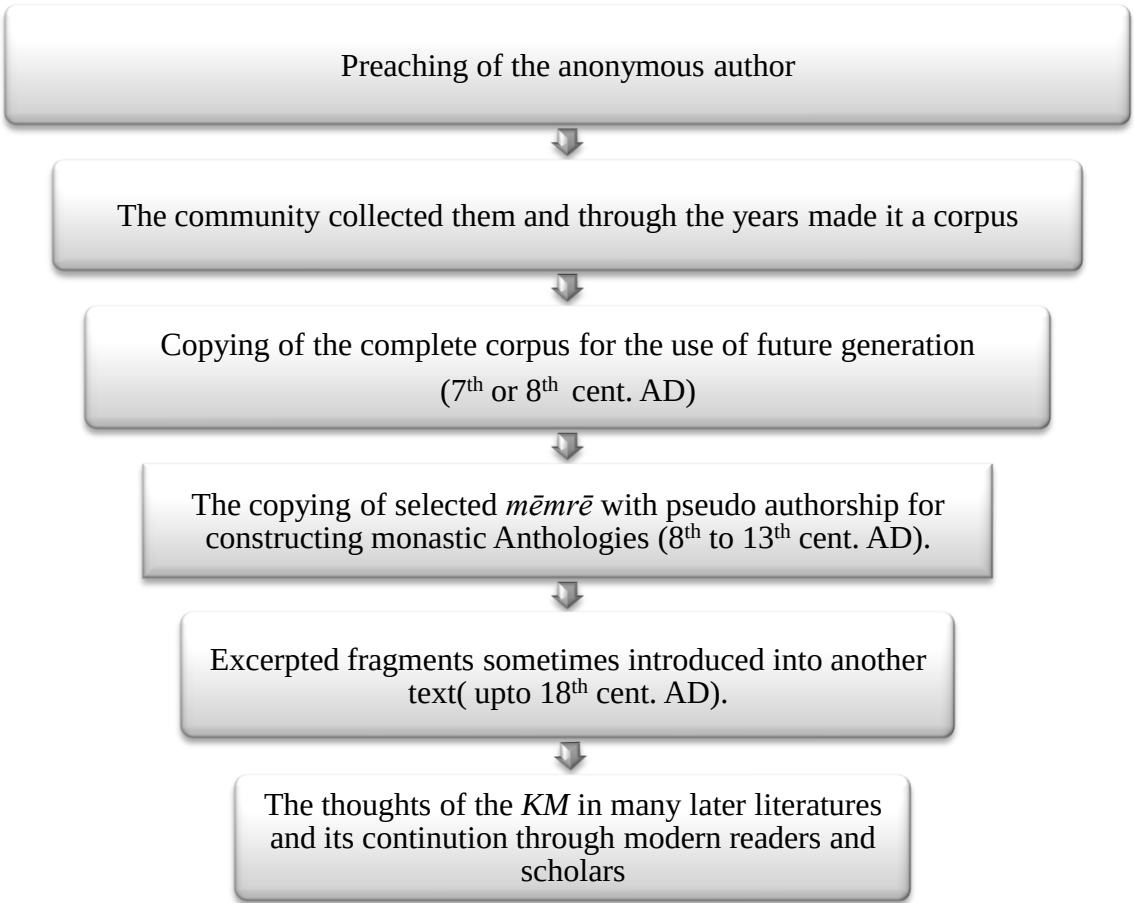
[126] Cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 55.

[127] See f.no. 108 and 119 of this Chapter.

[128] Cf. G. KESSEL, «A Previously Unknown Reattributed Fragment», 69.

[129] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, lxxii.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *KM*



2.5 The Time and Place of Composition

The character of this collection points to the most fertile period in Syriac asceticism, especially during its golden age in the 4th and 5th cent. AD[130].

[130] Syriac Christianity during this period is particular in many ways. It was Semitic in its mentality, and had little influence of Greek thought pattern and of the Greek cultural world. The 4th cent. was the golden period of monasticism in the Semitic world. Till then it retained its native ascetic tradition without fusing with Egyptian monastic traditions, cf. S.P. BROCK, *Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition*, 5-6. A number of men and women dedicated themselves a way of life, giving importance to 'mysticism and meditation'. They tried to lead their ascetical life in silence with humility, and they interpreted their life as a constant fight with demons. At the same time the community of faithful itself tried to live their life in an ascetical way through the renunciation of

However, any exact information about the date and place of its composition is still lacking. It provides no clear chronological or geographical details to situate it in history. Many scholars made a number of hypotheses from various hints in the work itself. Almost all the scholars accept a Syriac milieu for its origin, but there is some doubt about whether it is Roman Mesopotamian or Persian? Since this study focuses on the *KM*'s vision on the Church, it is a need to break the seal of anonymity regarding the author and the community. The nature of the *KM* community and the characteristics of their milieu should be learned before entering into a serious study on the 'triple gradated Church'. In the next sections, basing on the previous scholarship, the details from the text itself is going to be used to locate the *KM* community in the history.

2.5.1 References to Persecution and the Lesser Zab River

In the *KM* there are certain references to a persecution (ܪܕܘܦܐ)[131], but only in broad terms. It is not possible to say anything with surety about these persecutions; whether the author spoke about it as a contemporary event or it was only in the memories of the author and the community, and peace prevailed there when the *KM* was written. Kmosko himself was the pioneer who depended on such references to fix its date of composition[132]. He used those references to make certain guesses about both the place and the time. He found the persecutions alluded to in *mēmrā* VIII — the demand of the persecutors to 'worship idols' (ܕܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܨܠܡܐ) and the nature of the persecutions narrated[133] — are more familiar in the Roman context. Hence, for him, the author is from the region of Mesopotamia under the Roman Empire[134] and the period of persecution of Christians is that started

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their own proper desires for the well being of others to become the body of Christ through the Holy Spirit, cf. F. BAÏSSARI, «Liber Graduum», 62.

[131] In *mēmrā* VIII, cf. PS III, 196[24-26](8,4) and in *mēmrā* XXX, cf. ID., 869-881(30,4-8); 916[7-10](30,22), *etc*.

[132] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CXLIX-CLX.

[133] PS III, 196[24-26](8,4): «ܘܢܣܬܟ ܡܠܚܡܟ ܟܠܒܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܠܚܪܒܐ ܕܣܝܦܐ ܠܥܡܐ (burn them, and throw them to the beasts and unto the edge of the sword)».

[134] Many later scholars stood for Mesopotamian region under Roman Empire, cf. J. GRIBOMONT, «Liber Graduum», 641; P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 374; L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 488. R. Murray places its origin more in the Western part since it lacks poetic symbolism which he considered as a common characteristic of the then literatures of Eastern provenance, and because of its striking parallels with hymns of Balai (*HQennešrin*), one who is much celebrated in Western Syria, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 36.

by Diocletian (303 AD)[135]. Accepting the fact that there exists no certainty, Kmosko fixed the date *c.* 320 AD[136].

At the same time there exists a reference to ܙܒ ܙܥܘܪܐ (the Lesser Zab River)[137], a branch of the Tigris that is located in present day northeastern Iraq, between Mosul and Kirkuk in the region of Adiabene. Since the author's reference indicates that the Lesser Zab was familiar to his readers, there is a probability to assume that the *KM* was written in Upper Mesopotamia, a region within the Persian Empire[138] bordering the Roman Empire, perhaps in Adiabene[139]. The reference to the Zab river supports the

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[135] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLVII-CLIX.

[136] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CL.

[137] Cf. PS III, 896[2](30,14). For Kmosko here the copyist made some mistake in presenting it as very easy to cross, which in reality is not so. He sees some strangeness in comparing it with Euphrates instead of Tigris which is near and to which Zab leads. Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLIX-CLX. However, his argument is not so sound to receive support from the later scholars.

[138] In 334 BC Alexander the Great brought Persia under Greek rule for nearly one century, but later Parthians liberated Persia from Greek domination. They governed for almost five centuries. Persia was a refuge for the Christians persecuted by the Roman Empire during the rule of Parthians who practiced liberal religious policies. But in 226 AD Sassanid rule came into existence. They ruled Persia for four centuries from 226 to 642 AD, until the rise of Islam. They promoted a strong feeling of nationalism in order to restore the glory of ancient Persia. The Zoroastrianism became the new religious policy of the Nation. It holds to dualism and was entirely different from the Christian faith. The Christians lost their religious freedom that they had enjoyed under Parthian rule for a long time. Under the Sassanid dynasty, Christianity in Mesopotamia underwent repeated persecutions, cf. B. SORO, *The Church of the East*, 145-144; R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 212.

[139] Cf. D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 107. During third and fourth centuries this area was a battlefield between the most powerful world powers, *i.e.* the Romans and the Sassanids. According to the treaty of 299 AD, a large portion of Upper Mesopotamia went to Romans. Sassanid rulers, especially Shapur II, was always trying to regain this lost territory. The attitude of these Sassanid Emperors to their Christian subjects was always governed by these international politics. When the Roman Emperors persecuted the Christians belonging to their Eastern Provinces, for the same reason, the Christians of Persia received special favours from their rulers, but in the 4th century, the advent of the Christian Emperor Constantine reversed the situation. From then onwards, Christians were always under suspicion as sympathizers to the rival Roman Empire and subjected to severe persecution in the Persian Empire. Cf. P. S.P. BROCK, «Christians in the Sasanid Empire», 7. Shapur II persecuted the Christians violently for 4 decades. The undiplomatic interventions of the Roman ruler who considered himself as the Emperor of the Christians all over the world, made Shapur II to persecute the Christians of his country severely, considering them as a threat to the

fact that the persecution referred to is more likely to be that under the Persian Shah Shapur II (339-379 AD)[140].

According to Greatrex the nature of the persecutions in *mēmrā* XXX goes with those took place in Persia[141]. Brock, focusing on this reference, located the author as a representative of Persian Christianity, living outside the Roman Empire during the turn of the fourth or fifth century or slightly earlier[142]. Again, since these territories oscillated between two Empires, it is not necessary for the author to move his residence because certain parts of upper Mesopotamia changed hands frequently[143]. There exists a possibility that the author might have lived in Roman territory and experienced the great persecution under Diocletian (303-313 AD)[144], and later experienced the Persian rule when the place was recaptured by

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nation. These persecutions and the destruction of churches are described as characteristic legends in Persian martyrologies. They are again reflected in the writings of contemporary witnesses, Aphrahat and Ephrem, who could be the contemporaries of our author. Cf. W. BAUM – D.W. WINKLER, *The Church of the East. A Concise History*, 10-11. Thus the Christians of Persia were isolated from the rest of the Christendom which helped them in a way to shape their liturgy, theology and spirituality in a unique way different from the major groups, later it caused this great tradition to be forgotten in the Christendom. Even now, during theological discussions, knowledge of this branch is slight when compared to Latin West and Greek East traditions. In his recent study about the context of the *KM*, Greatrex asks for a re-think about the automatic tendency to infer a link between persecutions in Persia and the 'promotion of Christianity within the Roman Empire'. He says: «it must be remembered that the conversion of Constantine did not lead suddenly to the Christianization of the whole empire: many inhabitants, if not most, remained pagan for much of the 4th Century. Thus there was at this stage no simple opposition between a Christian Roman empire and a Zoroastrian Persian Empire», G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 27. Analysing the context of the Martyrdom of Mar Simon Bar Ṣabba'e, he proved that Shapur's intention was not religious but an urge to raise funds. Hence, the principal victims were the clergy and the Church hierarchy who would have been expected to cooperate in raising the funds. The tax givers, the ordinary people were left untouched, cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 27. For the details of martyrdom of Mar Simon Bar Ṣabba'e, cf. *The Martyrdom and History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*, tr. K. Smith, 6-211.

[140] Cf. M.G. BIANCO., «Liber Graduum», 2817; A. GUILLAUMONT, «Liber Graduum», 750; R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway», 212; A. LOUF, «Une ancienne exégèse», 528.

[141] Cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 24.

[142] Cf. P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 42; ID., «The Syriac Tradition», 206-207; ID., «La prière et la vie spirituelle», 233.

[143] Cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 30.

[144] Cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 22.

Shapur[145]. That means the author had experience under the rule of both the Emperors as many scholars opined[146]. Whether he was a migrant from Rome in Persia, or he stayed in the border which oscillated between two powers is not sure. Thus, it is possible to say with Greatrex that the *KM* is «composed against a backdrop of constant large-scale warfare»[147], whose echo is there in the *KM*[148].

The scholars, like Stewart[149], Baïssari[150], Kollamparampil[151], Wickham,[152] *etc*. stand for its 4th cent. origin. For Lane the author is a «near contemporary of Aphrahat»[153], and for him, it can be «from a period when there seemed to be different standards within Christianity and when there was some stress between the ascetic movement and the official, Episcopal church»[154]. Bettiolo places the *KM* more than 50 years posterior to *Expositions* of Aphrahat[155]. Vergani placed it at the end of 4th or at the beginning of 5th cent.[156].

2.5.2 The Nature of the Biblical Quotations in the *KM*

Some scholars like I. Hausherr noticed the nature of references from the Bible in the *KM* and based on it provided some arguments concering its dating. He did not accept the criteria of Kmosko[157] but suggested a later date focusing on certain other internal evidence. He noticed the continued use of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and the familiarity with earlier writings, especially those of Ephrem. Hence, he found it apt to fix the date after the death of Ephrem (373 AD) giving some space for the reception of the

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[145] Cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 16.

[146] Cf. K. FITSCHEN, *Messalianismus*, 118; A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 17; D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 106-107.

[147] G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 20.

[148] Cf. PS III, 216^{13}-217^{20}(9,6).

[149] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 86.

[150] Cf. F. BAÏSSARI, «Liber Graduum», 61-62.

[151] Cf. T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «'Hidden Work' of the Heart in Liber Graduum», 299.

[152] Cf. L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 488.

[153] D.J. LANE, «The Book of Grades or Steps», 81.

[154] D.J. LANE, «The Book of Grades or Steps», 82.

[155] P. BETTIOLO, «Adamo in Eden e la liturgia celeste», 291.

[156] Cf. E. VERGANI, «Cronologia delle Chiese sire», 158.

[157] He put forward two objections to take the references to persecution as criteria. For him the first reference in PS III, 196^{24-26}(8,4) is only a possibility, not a historical reality and the second one in PS III, 869-881(30,4-8), the persecution is presented as a past event. Cf. I. HAUSHERR , «Quanam aetate», 496-502.

Ephremian corpus and before the period of the compilation of ܦܫܝܛܬܐ (the *Pšiṭtā*) in 435 AD by Rabbula, the Bishop of Edessa[158], so he proposed the date of composition of the *KM* as: *certo ante annum 435, certo non ante tria ultima decennia quarti, probabilius nec multo ante nec multo post annum 400 elucubratum esse*[159].

2.5.3 The Names of Certain Historical Persons

Another reason to put the *KM* in last decades of 4th cent. or the very beginning of 5th cent. is the «hagiographical introduction»[160], the *mamlā*, traditionally supposed as added by a later scribe. The Syriac editor, in his *mamlā* compares the author with three renowned fathers: Gregory the Great, Basil of Caesarea and Evagrius[161] of the late fourth cent. It is thus certain that the editor compiled it after that period[162]. Since Evagrius' works did not exist in Syriac until the 5th cent., Smith fixed the *terminus post quem* of the *mamlā* somewhere around 430 AD. There is a reference to Thecla[163] in the *KM* which also affirms its 5th cent. origin. This brief reference indicates that the author expects the readers' familiarity with her. Depending on the studies on the cult of Thecla in Syriac world[164] and accepting the hypothesis of the scholars that until 5th cent. a Syriac version of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* did not exist, Smith questioned the 4th cent. authorship of *mēmrā* XXVII[165]. He studied the MS tradition and found that the MS R of 7th or 8th cent. was well aware of the *mamlā*. Hence he questioned the concept of Kmosko that the *mamlā* is unique to the MS

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[158] See section «2.7 *The Use of the* Bible» of this Chapter.

[159] Cf. I. HAUSHERR , «Quanam aetate», 502.

[160] Cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 80.

[161] PS III, 5[16-17]: ܚܢܝܢܐ ܐܡ ܡܪܕܬܐ ܕܐ ܫܠܫܐ ܕܡܪܕܬܐ ܕܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܚܢܝܢܐ

Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, 4, see f.nos. 4 to 6 in this page.

[162] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 212.

[163] Cf. PS III, 772[6-9](27,3). The apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, written in the 2nd cent., narrates the story of a young virgin Thecla who is influenced by the Apostle Paul. For the Syriac text, cf. *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܡܗܠ – ܡܚܡ (128-169); English trans., *The History of Thecla. The Disciple of Paul the Apostle*, in *Ibid*, II, 116-45; for the Greek text, cf. *Acta Pauli et Theclae* in R.A. LIPSIUS – M. BONNET, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 235-272.

[164] Cf. S.J. DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla*; C. BURRIS – L. VAN ROMPAY, «Thecla in Syriac Christianity», 225-236; ID., «Some further Notes on Thecla in Syriac Christianity», 337-342; C. BURRIS, *The Reception of the Acts of Thecla*.

[165] Cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 84.

tradition represented by MSS α and β and hence an insertion by a later editor[166]. Questioning the traditional dates of composition based on different hypotheses of many previous scholars he put forward a new argument that «the preface was not a later editor's addition, but was rather an integral part of the anonymous author's original scheme»[167] and he places the whole work at the beginning of 5th cent., under the same authorship. He noticed that the *mamlā* is short and instead of introducing the work, it praises the author and tries to link him with the apostolic chain. Hence, he found it right to consider it as the author's own purposeful attempt to have a wider reception for his work *i.e.* «a fair hearing»[168]. Smith comments that:

> Instead of trusting the editor that the text was written anonymously on account of the humility of its author... the preface was in fact written by the author of the thirty mēmrē himself and was a rhetorical move designed to obscure the true origins of the Book of Steps. Under this interpretation, the Book of Steps can thereby read as a pious fraud[169].

2.5.4 The Presence of the Primitive Trinitarian Theology

It is known that the 3rd and 4th centuries witnessed a sharp development in Trinitarian theology due to the Arian controversies. But the author of the *KM* seems as if he never knew about this growth. Nevertheless, he kept the orthodox Trinitarian faith. Without using any technical terms and developed doctrines about Trinity, in a primitive style he explained the mystery of Trinity. See some of his sayings:

> «Let us be like this and pray for all people since Adam and until the end so that they may live and praise the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the perfect Trinity (ܬܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܡܫܡܗܐ)[170]»

> «Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, the Trinity without division (ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܡܫܡܗܐ)[171]».

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[166] Cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 82-83.
[167] K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 85.
[168] K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 86.
[169] K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 73.
[170] PS III, 408[21-24](16,10):
ܠܐܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܝܠ ܢܗܘܐ ܘܢܨܠܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܐ ܕܢܚܘܢ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܠܐܒܐ ܘܠܒܪܐ ܘܠܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܡܫܡܗܐ ܘܫܒܚܬܐ

L. Wickham commented about the Trinitarian theology of the author as «a fine illustration of the possibility of thinking the truth of Trinitarian religion without using its technical vocabulary. There is no doubt that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are for him, three subjects[172]… Our author is no Modalist or Patripassianist»[173]. It is notable that the author is very strict in emphasizing the unity of the Trinity, but at the same time, he is aware of the three persons. The absence of developed Trinitarian terms and doctrines can also be considered as a support for the *KM's* early 4th cent. origin.

2.5.5 Absence of the References to Christological Controversies

The *KM* handled many complex issues of the Spiritual life but kept a deep silence about the fierce Christological controversies which took place in the Roman Empire from 430 AD onwards. Some scholars took it as evidence of its 4th cent. origin. Murray noticed the absence of reference to the issue of Christological controversies and hence for him it «belongs to the early period of Syriac Christianity prior to the fifth-century schisms»[174]. Recently, however, R. Roux too, dated this work at the beginning of the fourth century because of the absence of any reference to the Arian heresy. He says:

> Nelle omelie I-XXIX non vi è praticamente alcun riferimento al dibattito ariano che nel corso del IV secolo aveva sconvolto la vita della Chiesa nell'impero romano. Solo nell'ultima omelia, la XXX, vi è un rapido accenno, nonchè un riferimento all'uso della violenza per riprimere le eresie. Data la rilevanza della controversia ariana, è difficile pensare che l'autore del *Liber Graduum* potesse limitarsi a referimenti così scarsi. O avrebbe dovuto evitare del tutto qualsiasi riferimento alle questioni discusse, oppure si deve pensare veramente a una epoca piú antica qualora lo si collochi nell'impero romano, inizio quarto secolo, oppure a un ambiente piú remoto ed isolato, appunto la Mesopotamia, dove gli echi delle controversie ariane potevano giungere un po' piú tardi[175].

It is true that any explicit ideas supporting or opposing Arius is absent in the *KM*. However an indirect expression of Nicene faith is there in the *mēmrā* XXX as: «For Our Lord was and is from the time His Father is,

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[172] L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 492.
[173] L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 493.
[174] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 34-35.
[175] Cf. R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 55-56.

from everlasting and forever and ever without limit»[176]. Maybe the geographical and the political separation of the Church of the East from the Christianity of Rome prevented her from direct involvement in such controversies and of course from theological discussions. Hence, as Brock observes «its theological language and its understanding of certain technical terms remained comparatively old-fashioned»[177]. So the absence of references to the Arian issue or the lack of developed theological terms can never be considered as the sole reason to determine its antiquity. The work in its integrity should be examined.

2.5.6 The Names Applied to the Christians

In this section, one new piece of evidence from the text which places the text at the beginning of the 5th cent. is going to be proposed. It is a historical fact that the fluctuating Roman-Persian frontier had its impacts on the ecclesial hierarchy. As a side effect, in the same geographical area, the Christian community included refugees, deportees and the natives. There existed two bishops in one city, one for the indigenous community and the other for the deportees. Three terms were there[178] to refer to those who believed in Christ.

1. ܡܫܝܚܝܐ (*mšīḥāyē*) — the term used by the Persian Christians to refer themselves

2. ܢܨܪܝܐ (*nāṣrāyē*)[179] — the normal term used by the Persian authorities to refer to Christians. Later this term is taken over into Arabic.

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[176] PS III, 917[16-18](30,24):
ܚܝܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ,ܡܛܠ ,ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ,ܐܝܟ ܕ ,ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ,ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܚܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܐ ⁘

[177] S.P. BROCK, «The Christology of the Church of the East», 130. Their only contact to the Church in Rome was through the Persian School at Edessa which was closed in 489 AD and its continuation, the School of Nisibis. *Ibid.*, 130-132.

[178] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac», 94; ID., «Christians in the Sasanid Empire», 3; K. SMITH, C*onstantine and the Captive Christians*, 132-135; M. FRENSCHKOWSKI, «Christianity», 467.

[179] In Gospels Jesus is associated with the town of Nazareth, cf. Matt 4:13; Luke 1:26. 2:39. 4:16, *etc*. Hence he was called a Nazoraen and in earlier centuries followers of Christ were called Nazarenes. In Acts 24:5 we see that the opponents of Paul refer to him as the «leader of the sect of the Nazarenes». From the very beginning of Christianity this title got a pejorative tone. Two years ago Louis Zako, the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch of Baghdad reported that the ISIS militants marked some Christian homes in red paint with the Arabic letter *nūn* for *Nasrani* which means 'Christian' in Arabic, cf. L. SAKO, «ISIS in Mosul marks Christian Homes», *AINA News*, July 19,

3. ܟܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ (*krīsṭyānē*) — The term was introduced into the Persian area only in the third century with Shapur I's deportations. The term used to refer deported Occidental Christians settled in the Sassanid Empire.

According to S.P. Brock, when Sasanian authorities used the title *nāṣrāyē* as a term of opprobrium, Christians in Persia moved in favour of *krīsṭyānē* and renewed use of Syriac *mšīḥāyē*[180]. Gradually with the late 4th and early 5th cent., the term *krīsṭyānē* replaced *mšīḥāyē* and came to be used for all Christians, irrespective of their origin. At the same time, *nāṣrāyē* got a pejorative tone in Christian eyes, that was originally not been present in the word[181]. It is interesting to note the usage of these terms in Aphrahat. The term *krīsṭyānē* is seen only once in *Exp.* XX,10. There he used it while he referred to Acts 11:26. «the disciples were first called Christians». It is noteworthy that immediately Aphrahat explains that *krīsṭyānē* are *mšīḥāyē*. From this it is possible to infer that his readers were not that much familiar with term *krīsṭyānē*[182]. The *KM* uses the word «ܟܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ / *krīsṭyānā*», the Christian[183] and in one other place «ܟܪܝܣܛܝܢܘܬܐ / *krīsṭyānūṯa*», the Christianity[184]. But the other two terms *mšīḥāyē* and *nāṣrāyē* are absent in

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2014, [accessed: 07.09.2016], http://aina.org/news/20140719115241; see f.no. 25 in K. SMITH, C*onstantine and the Captive Christians*, 132. However St. Thomas Christians of India still use this term as their auto-designation and are proud to be called *Nasrani*. For a philological study of the term and for the details of how it is entered into ethnic discourse and about its use among as the St. Thomas Christians of India, cf. F. DE BLOIS, «Naṣrānī», 1-30.

[180] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac», 94-95.

[181] In Syriac literature *Nāṣrāyē* cannot be seen as an auto-designation of Christians. At the same time we can see that the Persian authorities usually used this term to address the followers of Christ. In *History of Blessed Simeon Bar Ṣabba'e* we can see its usage in Shapur's edict from Beth Husaye:

ܠܥܩܒ ܕܢܥܩܪ ܒܝ ܐܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܪܫ ܢܨܪܝܐ ܕܬܬܩܛܠ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܥܕ ܕܢܚܬܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܘܢܣܒ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܢ ܟܣܐ ܕܪܝܫܐ ܒܪ ܟܣܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܢܨܪܝܐ ܕܒܐܪܥܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܐܪܥܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܐܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܐܪܥܢ ܐܚܪܢ

«Arrest Simon, the head of the naṣraye and do not release him until he signs a document and takes it upon himself to collect abd give to us a double poll tax and double tribute from all the people of the naṣraye who are in our land», Syriac text: PS II, 791[6-11](IV); English trans., *The Martyrdom and History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*, tr. K. Smith, 76.

[182] PS I, 909[13-18] (XX,10):

ܗܘ ܡܢ ܩܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܩܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ ... ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܛܝܟ ܒܬܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܩܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܛܝܟ ܒܬܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܩܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ

«He called them *Krīsṭyānē* [Christians], the *Mšīḥāyē*... There in Antioch they are first called Christian Disciples».

[183] Cf. PS III, 85[23](4,1); 300[18](12,6).

[184] Cf. PS III, 772[12] (27,3).

the work. Hence, from the presence of the word *krīsṭyānā*, it is sure that the *KM* was written after Aphrahat during late 4th and early 5th cent., when the term *krīsṭyānē* replaced *mšīḥāyē* and came to be used for all Christians, irrespective of their origin.

2.5.7 The Names Applied to the Holy Spirit

In the *KM*, there are terms like «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ»[185], «ܪܘܚܗ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ»[186], «ܪܘܚܝ ܕܝܠܝ»[187], «ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ»[188], *etc*. to speak about the Holy Spirit as the third Person of the Trinity[189]. Since the word, ܪܘܚܐ is grammatically feminine, in ancient times when referring to the Holy Spirit, the feminine adjective «ܩܕܝܫܐ» and the verbs which indicate typical feminine actions were used[190]. Moreover in ancient Syriac literature, feminine images and metaphors are usually used to represent Holy Spirit[191]. Nevertheless, gradually people began to disapprove of considering the Holy Spirit as grammatically feminine. Hence, they started to use ܪܘܚܐ as masculine wherever it referred to Holy Spirit. S.P. Brock points out three stages of the history of this significant change in usage: a) In the earliest literature up to 400 AD, Holy Spirit is represented grammatically as feminine, b) From the early 5th cent., some people started to treat ܪܘܚܐ as masculine when it referred to the Holy Spirit, c) Later the masculine usage became a norm[192].

In the *KM*, the main term used to represent the Holy Spirit is not with the masculine adjective, ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ / *rūḥā qaddišā* but with the absolute form,

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[185] PS III, 312[2](13,3); 380[18](15,18); 780[1](27,5).

[186] PS III, 4[5]; 136[3](5,19); 408[23](16,10); 564[4](20,12); 572[15-16](20,15); 573[8](20,15); 577[5](20,17); 788[23-24](28,2); 789[18](28,3); 789[26](28,3); 792[13](28,4); 792[23](28,5); 793[3](28,5); 797[8](28,8).

[187] PS III, 65[1](3,10); 788[4](28,1).

[188] PS III, 69[6](3,11); 788[16](28,1); 789[1](28,2); 789[23](28,3); 792[26](28,5).

[189] We have already seen it in the previous section «2.5.4 The Presence of the Primitive Trinitarian theology».

[190] The most important verb is «ܪܚܦ» which means, «to hover over»; a typical feminine action. For its biblical usages and place in Syriac literature, cf. E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, «Feminine Maternal Images», 171.

[191] The Holy Spirit as «Mother» is its explicit expression. For studies on the theme, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of the Church*, 312-319; S.P. BROCK, «The Holy Spirit as Feminine», 73-88; ID., «Come Compassionate Mother», 249-257; E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, *The Spirit of life*; ID., «Feminine Maternal Images», 169-188; S.A. HARVEY, «Feminine Imagery for the Divine», 118-21.

[192] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Holy Spirit as Feminine», 74-75.

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ / *rūḥā d-qudšā*[193]. This expression is of Jewish origin[194] and found in liturgical texts still in use[195]. About this usage, A. Kowalski makes a relevant comment:

> Così viene chiamato lo Spirito santo dalla letteratura più antica fino ai testi liturgici usati oggi nelle varie chiese di lingua siriaca. É una formula tradizionale, che non determinando la femminilità o mascolinità dello Spirito Santo, si è potuta mantenere anche nei tempi, in cui è cambiata la mentalità dei siri al riguardo[196].

From the analysis of various Syriac texts from different centuries, S.P. Brock notes: «From the sixth century onwards usage with masculine (and normally with *rūḥā qaddišā*, rather than *rūḥā d-qudšā*) appears to be invariable in theological writing, and it is only sporadically in poetry that the feminine is still to be found»[197]. In the *KM*, the feminine expression, ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ / *rūḥā qaddištā* is there in one instance[198]. It can be a remnant of the above-mentioned ancient typical Syriac usage. Hence, because of the absence of masculine term and the rarity of the feminine term used for Holy Spirit, the *KM* can be considered from the second stage of Brock's presentation, *i.e*, from 4th cent. till the beginning of 5th cent. AD.

2.5.8 The References about Internal Conflicts

The next factor under the consideration is the indications regarding the internal conflicts that can be observed in the *KM* especially in *mēmrā* XXX[199]. The conflict between the «disciples of Faith (ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ)» and the «disciples of Love (ܪܚܡܐ ܕܚܒܒܐ)» should be read in the background of the *KM* community's history. What was the nature of those internal conflicts? Was it between the usual ascetics and the hierarchy? Or was it among the persons belonging to hierarchy itself? Or was it against the heretics present among the believers? It is prudent to accept the possibility of all these three cases.

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[193] See this Chapter, section «2.5.7 The Names Applied to the Holy Spirit».

[194] Cf. H. PARZEN, «The Ruaḥ Haḳodesh», 51-76.

[195] *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, *etc*.

[196] Cf. A. KOWALSI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 106, see f.no. 208.

[197] S.P. BROCK, «The Holy Spirit as Feminine», 77.

[198] «ܚܝܐ ܘܡܚܝܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ (Living and Holy Spirit which is of the Lord)», PS III, 204[3](9,1).

[199] Cf. PS III, 859-932(30,1-29).

It is said in the *KM* that the «disciple of Love» who has been loved and is perfected, is able to build up the Church[200]. Then it is clear that it refers to a group who enjoyed the responsibility to guard the Church. Hence, a close reading of *mēmrā* XXX reveals conflicts among the responsible people included in the hierarchy. This hypothesis is supported by the history. While Christianity had been introduced to Persia in the first centuries, during the earliest period, the leadership was not organized. At the end of the second century, the Church has started to move towards a centralized authority. Through a series of national synods that were held in the first centuries, gradually a centralized authority evolved, was established, and given to the bishop of the Persian capital city, Seleucia – Ctesiphon[201]. The Catholicate evolved through the first four national synods[202], but many conflicts were there behind this centralization movement[203]. When the Bishop of the Capital city came to the primacy, the ecclesial and civil authorities enjoyed a good relationship[204] which often created confusion among the faithful and of course resulted in opposition. We have some hints in the *KM* which exhort the Perfect to keep away from any power[205] and suggest the leaders not to interfere in the matters of the

[200] PS III, 868[11-12](30,3): «ܐܠ ܬܬܒܥ ܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܫܫܐ ܕܡܫܬܠܡ ܘܡܫܠܡ ܠܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܐܢܐ».

[201] Mar Papa Bar Gaggai was the then Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

[202] They were, the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (315 AD), the Synod of Mar 'Ishaq (410 AD), the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha (420 AD) and the Synod of Mar Dadisho (424 AD). *The Book of the Eastern Synods* (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܘܢܗܕܘܣ ܕܡܕܢܚܝܬܐ - *Kṯaḇā d sunāhdō madnḥayātā*) which contains the official records and acts of the first 13 synods of the Church of the East from 410 to 775 AD is the principal source to get the information about those events that lead into the formation of the Catholicate. These synodical texts which are in Syriac are collected and published with its French translation by J. B. Chabot, cf. J.B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., *Synodicon Orientale*. But the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon is not recorded in it. However its information can be derived from the canons and records of later councils. Mainly its account comes from the proceedings of the Synod of Dadisho of 424 AD, cf. J.B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., *Synodicon Orientale*, Syriac Text, 43-53; French trans., 285-298.

[203] Cf. H.S.MOFFETT, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, I, 117; B. SORO, *The Church of the East*, 135-164; W.F. MACOMBER, «The Authority of the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon», 179-200; A. DE HALLEUX, «Autonomy and Centralization in the Ancient Syriac Churches», 59-67; M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Historical Evolution of the Patriarchate», 94-118.

[204] The deacon of Mar Papa, Mar Simon Bar Ṣabba'e who became the later Catholicos was on very good terms with Shapur II, cf. G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 25-28.

[205] Cf. PS III, 493[9-12](19,24).

Perfect. Certain allusions to the clashes existing between the hierarchy and the ascetical groups are also there in the *KM*. G. Greatrex's observation about the milieu of the *KM* is noteworthy:

> a world of tension, if not outright conflict, between centralizing forces in the Church, represented by Papa and Simeon, and more independently minded communities, who preferred to maintain their own traditions and distinctions. When persecutions broke out, different sections of the community reacted in different ways; inevitably, some Christians turned against their co-religions, leading to the sort of events alluded to by our author. In the end, the Persian Church was able to stabilize the situation and to clear itself of the suspicion of being aligned with an increasingly Christian Roman empire: a synod held in Seleucia – Ctesiphon in 410 established an independent church[206].

The conflicts could also be due to the presence of the evolution of heretical thoughts within the community. It is not possible to see an explicit reference to any particular heretical group. The reason behind such a neutral attitude is very clear in R. Roux's words that the *KM*, «openly rejects the use of violence, verbal or physical in religious matters»[207] and exhorts that imitating Our Lord, we have to pray for the sinners and heretics[208]. It can not be neglected that the accusation was there against the *KM* as a work containing the thoughts of Manichaeism[209], Marcionism[210],

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[206] G. GREATREX, «The Romano – Persian Frontier», 30.

[207] R. ROUX, «Antimarcionitica», 92. Cf. PS III, 637^{19}-644^{15}(22,3-4); 869^{10}-877^{15}(30,4-6).

[208] Cf. PS III, 657^{15}-661^{20}(22,11-12).

[209] It was a religion founded by Mani, born in Persia in *c.* 215 AD. Its dualistic doctrine holds two eternal principles — good and evil, and other borrowed elements from Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Gnosticism and Christianity, cf. G. O'COLLINS – E.G. FARRUGIA, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*, 149. The two groups of the *KM*, the «Perfect» and the «Upright», compelled many to trace Manichaen footprints along the *KM*. According to those studies it is clear that the author of the *KM* surely knew something about Manichaeism, cf. P. NAGEL, «Manichäisches im syrischen Liber Graduum?», 179-184; T. PETTIPIECE, «Parallel Paths», 32-40. P. BÄSS too opined that «Was aber im LG nicht durch christliche Tradition gedeckt ist, hat vielleicht mehr manichäische als messalianische Entsprechhungen», P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 370.

[210] A dualistic, ascetic movement which says that the creator or demiurge and OT law, were incompatible with the 'God of love and grace', preached by Jesus. Hence it rejects the Hebrew Scriptures, cf. G. O'COLLINS – E.G. FARRUGIA, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*, 149. The author of the *KM* wrote against Marcionism without mentioning its name. In article, R. Roux tries to extract the anti-Marcionitic teachings of the *KM*, cf. R. ROUX, «Antimarcionitica», 91-104.

Sabellianism[211] and Messalianism[212]. Many of these heretical groups were present during the first five centuries in the Mesopotamian area and the milieu of the *KM* was shared by all these groups. So it is possible to see similar thoughts and vocabularies in the *KM*, but not their heterodox thought. Many times it talked about an encounter with the heretics. The «disciples of faith» should encounter heretics (ܗܠܚܬܐ) and idolaters (ܥܠܠܐ). They oppose the pagans and the idolaters because of their evil doctrine, «tearing down their altars and enduring wherever they are persecuted in order not to become vain idolaters in the land of the Lord our God… »[213]. But the «Martyrs of Love» are persecuted and killed by the members of the «household of faith». The reason is nothing but their soft attitude towards these heretics and idolaters. They try to teach them with lowliness[214]. Hence, it is quite right to consider the composition of the *KM* during this complex period of time.

2.5.9 A Reaction to the Fifth-century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism

It is known that the Mesopotamian monasticism has an indigenous nature quite different from that of Egyptian monasticism. Before the dawn of proper institutionalized monasticism, many Syriac Churches would consists of the ascetic community called ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ / *bnay qyāmā* literally 'sons of the covenant'[215]. They devoted themselves to the service of the

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[211] It is known under different names like Modalism, Monarchianism, and Patripassianism. It stressed the unity of the Trinity in such an extreme as to assert that Father, Son and the Holy Spirit are only apparitions, and are not personally distinct. They are the three manifestation in which the one God is revealed, cf. G. O'COLLINS – E.G. FARRUGIA, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*, 162. Kmosko found Sabellian elements in the *KM*. However, it is already seen in this study that, the author has an orthodox Trinitarian theology. See the section 2.5.4 of this Chapter.

[212] Since the major accusation against the *KM* was its connection with Messalianism it shall be discussed in detail in a following section, see this Chapter, section «3. The *KM* and the Messalianism».

[213] PS III, 869[23-25](30,4):
ܚܡܝ ܚܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܒܟܢܝܫ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܡܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܥܠܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܛܠ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܠܗܢ ܡܪܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܢܬܪܕܘܢ ܡܕܒܚܗ ܘܢܬܚܡܠ ܒܟܠ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܢܬܪܕܘܢ ܒܗ

community of believers under the direction of priests or bishops[216]. This ancient Syriac institution of covenanters was at the heart of the Church and it was their voice that brought the ascetic message to married householders[217]. Brock called this indigenous and distinctive tradition of the consecrated lifestyle as «proto- monasticism»[218]. There were certain technical terms to refer to these ascetics *viz*., ܝܚܝܕܝܐ / *īḥīdāyā*[219], ܩܕܝܫܐ / *qaddīšā*, ܒܬܘܠܐ / *bṯulā*, ܒܬܘܠܬܐ / *bṯūltā*, ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ / *bnay qyāmā*, *etc*.[220]. But later, history witnessed a gradual shift to cenobitic style under the leadership of Mar Rabbula[221]. A monk is ܕܝܪܝܐ / *dayrāyā* and proper coenobium is called ܕܝܪܐ / *dayrā* or ܥܡܪܐ / *ʿumrā*. This transitional period witnessed much opposition from those who stood for the archaic Syrian monastic tradition[222]. The increasing tendency toward communal life

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the *qyāmā* was called 'son of the covenant' (ܒܪ ܩܝܡܐ / *bar qyāmā*) and a female member 'daughter of the covenant' (ܒܬ ܩܝܡܐ / *bat qyāmā*). They had committed themselves to sexual abstinence and the service of the Church. They never had the form of institutionalized monastic community, but were simply the baptized celibate laity, and from their ranks the pastors or clergy were drawn, cf. «The So-called canons of *Marūtā* XXV / 7» in A. VÖÖBUS, ed. – tr., *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 120; G. NEDUNGATT, *The Covenanters*, 201. Thus the term *bnay / bnat qyāmā* became a collective name of the Church's core elite, who are considered to be the only full pledged Christians.They were always placed after the bishops, presbyters and deacons. It is explicit in Rabbula's rule no. 23, cf. RABBULA, «Commandments and the Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the *Bnay Qyāmā*», 42. They were in harmony with the spirituality of their own Church, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 13; M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Spirituality of *Qyāmā*», [on-line publication]; [accessed: 16.08.2014], http://dukhrana.in/the-spirituality-of-qyama-an-ideal-for-modern-monasticism/.

[216] Cf. S.A. HARVEY, «Syriac Christian Thought», 692.

[217] Cf. P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, 329.

[218] Cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 107-117.

[219] It can also be written as ܝܚܝܕܝܐ / *'īḥīdāyā*.

[220] For the etymological and theological analysis of these terms Cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 109-115; G. NEDUNGATT, «The Covenenters», 205-215; S.H. GRIFFITH, «Monks», 141-160; M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Spirituality of *Qyāmā*», [on-line publication], [accessed: 16.08.2014], http://dukhrana.in/the-spirituality-of-qyama-an-ideal-for-modern-monasticism/.

[221] Bishop of Edessa (411/2-435/6 AD). He converted to Christianity as an adult, leaving his mother, wife, and children for the monastic life. He was renowned for his work among poor, for regulating clergy, monastics and *bnay qyāmā*. For a brief description about him see, cf. S.A. HARVEY, «Rabbula of Edessa», 348.

[222] A. VÖÖBUS, «Sur le développement de la phase cénobitique», 401-407.

created the necessity of creating an order for the life of the community with rules[223].

P. Bäss notices characteristics of the *KM* community are very similar to that of ancient conservative and radical ascetics of Mesopotamia[224]. For him, actually, the *KM* expresses the reaction of the traditional ascetics against the then growing tendency of institutionalization of monasticism in the eastern provinces of Roman Empire under the ecclesiastical hierarchy that started to enjoy the power of the state[225]. In the recent study of Smith[226], he took the same line as Bäss and challenged the traditional beliefs about the authorship and time of composition of this complex work. He too wants to present this work as a reaction to the «fifth-century institutionalization of Syriac asceticism under Bishop Rabbula of Edessa»[227] and hence the *KM* as a 5th cent. work.

Here a close reading of the text is essential. The *KM* of course used, though rarely, the proto-monastic terms like ܒܪ ܩܝܡܐ / *bar qyāmā*[228] and

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[223] The most important among them are those known under the name of famous Edessian Bishop Rabbula. It provides separate rules for monks and *bnay qyāmā*. In the first set of Admonitions: «ܠܚܕܝ ܢܚܝ ܕܠܡ ܕܠܡ ܚܕ ܕܢܫܟ ܚܠܠ ܢܫܟ ܐܡܘܪ ܟܬܒ ܢܡܘܣ», laws for the monks (ܢܫܟ) are seen, cf. RABBULA, «Admonitions for the Monks by Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa», 24-33. In the second set of laws, « ܟܬܒ ܩܕܡܝܢ ܢܚܝ ܩܘܕܫ ܒܪ ܩܝܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܟ ܐܡܘܪ ܟܬܒ ܢܡܘܣ ܠܚܕܝ», the instructions for *bnay qyāmā* and priests are given, cf. RABBULA, «Commandments and the Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the *Bnay Qyāmā*», 34-50. From these separate rules it is right to consider it as a transition period and the Bishop made legislations for both groups.

[224] P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 373.

[225] See his openion: «die Vollkommenen werden augenscheinlich von Seiten einer mit dem römischen Staat verbündeten kirchlichen Macht verfolgt. Man kann aus dem Text des LG erkennen, welcher Art das Interesse der Verfolger war: auch in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches sollten die Mönche in Klöstern der stabilitas loci und der oboedientia gegen einen Abt bzw. eine Klosterregel unterliegen; sie sollten an Fremden, Armen, Kranken Fürsorge üben, ihnen Almosen geben, sie sollten Hospize errichten, Gärten anlegen und bebauen. Dergleichen Neuerungen wiesen die Vollkommenen des LG als teuflische Verführung weit von sich. Sie sahen dadurch das Fundament ihres monastischen Lebens, die imitatio Christi verneint», cf. P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 374:

[226] Cf. K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 72-96.

[227] K. SMITH, «A last Disciple», 72.

[228] The term *bar qyāmā* is there only one time in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 265[19](10,9).

īḥīdāyā [229], but it never identified them with *KM*'s own institutions, the Perfect (*gmīrē*) and the Upright (*kēnē*). The terms from the cenobitic period like, *dayrāyā*, *dayrā*, *'umrā*, *etc*., are absent in the *KM*. Hence, it is clear that the work is from the proto-monastic period and the author is familiar with proto-monastic terminologies. The *KM* is not an exclusive monastic literature, but it addresses the believing community which includes ascetics. The hypotheses of Bäss and Smith are therefore not acceptable. If the author wrote against the Rabbula's attempts of institutionalization, he could mention at least a few of those terms from the cenobitic period. That means the *KM*'s composition has finished in a period prior to the dawn of ܕܝܪܐܝܘܬܐ / *dayrāyūtā* — the institutionalized monastic life.

This section studied about many attempts from different scholars to place the *KM* in a historical period[230]. According to the above study, it is right to place the *KM* at the end of 4th cent. or at the very beginning of the 5th cent. with the support of three arguments that are added to the previous hypotheses, *viz*., the occurrence of the term *Krīsṭyānā*, the absence of the masculine usage *rūḥā qaddišā* and the absence of institutionalised monastic terminologies like *dayrāyā*, *dayrā, dayrāyūtā*.

2.6 *The Author and the Addressed Community*

2.6.1 The Author

In his *mamlā*, the Syriac editor introduces the author of the *KM* with high esteem without even knowing his name or identity! It may be due to the awareness of the wide reception of these spiritual treatises within his community and its traditionally held respect for this anonymous author. Since the sources those provide information about this anonymous person are lacking, the *mamlā* is useful in a way to provide some information about the author.

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[229] It is found both in singular and plural form, cf. PS III, 257[19](10,5); 445[2](19,1); 460[3](19,6); 749[17](25,8); 849[20](29,16); 860[4](30,1). We can see its abstract form ܐܝܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ / *īḥīdāyūtā* in ID., 208[12](9,2); 841[21](29,12); 845[8](29,13); 860[2](30,1).

[230] See the sections 2.5.6; 2.5.7 and 2.5.9 of this Chapter.

a) *One of the Last Disciples of the Apostles?*

The Syriac editor calls the author of our document who desires to remain anonymous, the «blessed (ܛܘܒܢܐ / *ṭubānā*)»[231]. he speaks about the traditional belief that this blessed author was «one of the last disciples of the Apostles»[232] and also «one of the first teachers who wrote in Syriac»[233]. He admits that his «simple doctrine (ܟܝܢܐ ܫܡܠܐ)»[234] is a «wealth of mysteries (ܪܘܪܒܐ ܪܙܐ)»[235]. The Syriac editor makes his hypothesis about the author by reading his personality through the lines of his work and invites us to do the same. It is understood from the work that he was not an «ordinary (ܥܣܝܩܐ)»[236] person, but a «person of God (ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ)»[237], a «prophet (ܢܒܝܐ)»[238] who had received the «Spirit, the Paraclete (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܪܘܚܐ)»[239] and was found worthy to speak about God. The editor praised him as a «great and complete (ܫܠܡܐ ܥܡܝܩܐ)»[240] man who ranks with the Apostles and prophets and is like Agabus and companions mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*[241]. He is sure that the author did not receive these teachings from the thoughts of people or from the teachings of the wise, but «through the Holy Spirit, he has revealed and interpreted these mysteries»[242]. He accomplished this work alone with the «power of the Holy Spirit (ܚܝܠܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[243]. He follows the style of the ancient Syriac language[244]. He is not a scholarly writer, but the «simplicity of his speech (ܦܫܝܛܘܬ ܟܠܝܢܐ)»[245] is noteworthy. As it is

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[231] Cf. PS III, 1^{2-4}. The title 'blessed one' is common in Syriac tradition whose Greek equivalent is μακάριος. We have a bulk of MSS attributed Μακάριος the 'blessed one', cf. M. PLESTED, *The Macarian Legacy*, 16.

[232] PS III, 1^{7-8}: ,ܡܢ ܟܬ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܫܠܝܚ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

[233] PS III, 1^{9-10}: ܕܟܬܒ ܒܣܘܪܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܡܢ

[234] PS III, 1^{2}.

[235] PS III, 1^{2}.

[236] PS III, 1^{10}.

[237] PS III, 1^{14}.

[238] PS III, 4^{2}.

[239] PS III, 4^{3}. In *Peshitta* John 14:26: ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ

[240] PS III, 4^{7}.

[241] Cf. Acts 11:28; PS III, 4^{10}.

[242] PS III, 4^{5-6}: ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܥܡܩ̈ܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

[243] PS III, 4^{18-19}.

[244] Cf. PS III, 4^{16-17}.

[245] PS III, 4^{13-14}.

mentioned earlier the Syriac editor places his position with renowned Fathers like Gregory the Great, Basil the Great and Blessed Evagrius[246].

The editor quoted the last section[247] of *mēmrā* XXX with the purpose of affirming all those things he said about the author. Through the quoted passage the editor wants to re-mention why the author is placed with the prophets and Apostles. He is raised with them because, he is one among «those who keep the commandments of Our Lord, and who imitate His humility»[248].

b) *A Renowned Preacher?*

From the portion of the work that the editor inserted in his preface, it can be inferred that the author was a preacher, and may be his sermons happened to be written by his disciples in a later period. He repeatedly spoke about the 'tongue' (ܠܫܢܐ)[249] of prophets that became «the pen of the Skillful Scribe (ܩܠܡ ܣܦܪܐ ܡܗܝܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ)»[250], *i.e.* of Our Lord. The Syriac editor quoted the author himself to confirm the authority of the work as a continuation of the prophetic testimony. The author seems to be «the spiritual father of the faith community... the pastor and teacher of a Church who must tend to all of his flock, the ninety-nine, and the one»[251]. He speaks to a believing community which contains those who live in this world and seek a higher level of perfection. The acceptance of various levels in spiritual growth and the directions given for each group are the notable characters of this document. As L. Wickham comments, «there is an authority in much of the writing suggestive of a spiritual master, one with a claim to be heard... »[252].

c) *A Hermit?*

Some scholars also say that the author might have been a Hermit who was addressing either an ascetic group within the Syriac Church or an

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[246] Cf. PS III, 5^{16-17}.

[247] This portion is placed here in MS α, but in MS R it is in its correct place at the end of *mēmrā* XXX.

[248] PS III, 8^{11-13}: ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܡܬܡܫܠܝܢ ܒܡܟܝܟܘܬܗ

[249] PS III, $8^{8.14}$.

[250] PS III, 8^{14}.

[251] R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 213.

[252] L. WICKHAM, «Teachings about God and Christ», 487.

eremitic community[253]. As it is seen already, the colophons, in certain MSS, attribute authorship variously[254]. However, there is no solid basis for any of these attributions and it is not right to consider it as a pure monastic literature.

d) *An Anonymous*

The *KM* ends with the expression of the intentional anonymity of the author. «Here ends the above thirty *mēmrē* in this book, which are the ways of perfection and about the discernment of the commandments of Our Lord that were set down by the blessed one who did not make known his name»[255]. This intentional anonymity of the author reveals some aspects of the mind of the community that became the cradle of the *KM*. They had a strong group sense that developed around an individual, the author, who felt that the group was more important than the individual[256]. For R.A. Kitchen, this intentional anonymity is relevant and very much in keeping with the central message of the book, *i.e.* 'perfection in humility'. That is, it was the desire of the author that the community of the *KM* – the Church, the living body of Christ, should survive, not the name of a writer[257].

2.6.2 The Addressed Community

The previous sections tried to locate the community geographically. Now the next question is who are they? Do they belong to any special sect with a particular intention? Or a believing community of a locality? Or a monastic community? Here also clear evidences are lacking to hold a particular position. On the background of the Messalian accusation against the work, Guillaumont affirmed that the author did not belong to any sect but was a faithful member of the great Church[258]. The author of the *KM* addresses mainly two groups, the «Upright» and the «Perfect». For R.A. Kitchen the *KM* is primarily written for the «Upright» who are walking

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[253] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 178-184; A. GUILLAUMONT, «Liber Graduum», 749-754; S. ABOUZAYD, *Ihidayutha*, 391.

[254] See the table given in the section 2.3.1 of this Chapter.

[255] PS III, 932[12-16](30,29):

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܟܬܝ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܟܬܝ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܟܬܒ

their way up to Perfection[259]. He thinks that the author initially favoured with the «Perfect» and later, disappointed by their failings, started to be more in favour of the «Upright» who «except for their non – celibacy, have shown more evidence of the fully lived Christian life»[260]. According to P. Brown, on the other hand, the author speaks for «a minority in danger of emargination»[261], the «Perfect». Who then are these «Perfect and Upright»? Did they belong to any sect in the Church? R.A. Kitchen and R. Murray believe that the *KM* was addressed to a specific community within the general community of believers[262]. C. Stewart too accepts their affirmation about the sectarian character of the *KM* community:

> The pronounced sectarian tone of the *Book of Steps*, however with its division of Christians into the ranks of Upright and Perfect, probably explains its move to the margins of the Syriac literary tradition. Ephrem's ascetic vocabulary allowed for a more supple, mainstream interpretation by later readers. In genre the *Book of Steps* is close to the Macarian Homilies, but again it is less susceptible to appreciation by a general audience. Many of Ephrem's writings moved into Greek translation (and inspired other compositions), and at least some of the Macarian Homilies were translated into Syriac; but the *Book of Steps* remained, as far as we know, only in Syriac[263].

L. Wickham, in contrast, argues that it was intended for a general and broad readership, such as one of the following possibilities:

- the literate Christianity of Syria in general (for this is not the book of a private society) who learn that ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ (morality) is not enough, but that it is an indispensable preliminary to ܡܕܒܪܝܘܬ (full maturity or perfection) in the life of faith,
- the theologically curious who want clarification,
- the fellowship which shares in the pursuit of full maturity and is directed to the demand for a universal love that pays no heed to merit or rights,
- a congregation in the Church where the common loyalty to the Church is affirmed despite degrees of life,

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[259] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Gattung of the Liber Graduum», 176.
[260] R.A. KITCHEN, «Zacchaeus's Half», 283.
[261] Cf. P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, 337.
[262] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «The Gattung of the Liber Graduum», 176; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 263.
[263] C. STEWART, «By Way of a Preface», x-xi.

- the beginner who aspires to the life of an *īḥīdāyā* and to climbing to the hill to the heavenly city[264].

Keeping all these assumptions and hypotheses in the background this study proceed its research to find some new evidences to bring out the nature of the addressed community. It is notable that the *KM* uses different modes of addressing which supports the argument of Wickham. The first *mēmrā* starts with a general address «Our brother men and fathers, our brothers and sisters in Christ»[265]. Nevertheless, the *mēmrē* XVIII[266], XIX[267], XX[268], XXVII[269] and XXIX[270] are addressed to «My son (ܒܪܝ)». In *mēmrē* X[271], XII[272], XX[273]and XXIX[274], the addressing is seen as the «brothers». The *mēmrā* XIX is addressed to the second person singular «you», who want to become an *īḥīdāyā* [275].

Hence, a conclusion can be derived that the addressed community of the *KM* is not homogeneous. It included different categories of people including men and women; those who lived in the society and also those who wished to lead a solitary life, *etc*. Therefore, it is right to consider them as the members of a local church with their zealous Pastor who cares each and every one of them with paternal care and guided them to spiritual progress. The common factor that united them is the ardent desire to achieve perfection.

The *KM* is not only lengthy but also a complex work. It is not a systematic well-arranged theological treatise about ascetic maturity. Hence it is hard to find a fixed opinion about any particular issue. The author's attitude changes according to the situation. It is not wrong to consider these *mēmrē* as one Pastor's homilies during the liturgical assemblies, which were edited into a collection in a later period. The elements of doxological

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[264] Cf. L. WICKHAM, «The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited», 184.
[265] PS III, 12^{6-7}(1,1): ܐܚܝܢ ܘܐܒܗܬܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܐܚܝܢ ܘܐܚܘܬܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ
[266] Cf. PS III, 432^{1}(18,1).
[267] Cf. PS III, 465^{23}(19,8); 480^{5}(19,17).
[268] Cf. PS III, 548^{17}(20,9).
[269] Cf. PS III, 769^{28}(27,3).
[270] Cf. PS III, 816^{17}(29,3).
[271] Cf. PS III, 249^{4}(10,1).
[272] Cf. PS III, 285^{1}(12,1).
[273] Cf. PS III, 537^{22}(20,6).
[274] Cf. PS III, 824^{15}(29,5).
[275] Cf. PS III, 445^{1-2}(19,1).

or blessing prayers from a liturgical context[276] support this argument. However, there are no good reason to think that it is a collection of works by many authors. R.A. Kitchen supports its single authorship:

> While his single voice is discernible throughout the work, he does not limit himself to one literary genre, offering discourses on the structure, rules, and theology of the ascetical life, extended biblical expositions, sermons on particular occasions and conflicted issues, pithy Evagrian-like sentences illustrating the contrast between different levels of the Christian life. This is neither a systematic theology in the Western tradition nor an attempt at a historical chronicle of this ascetical experiment; instead, it appears to be the collected occasional writings of the spiritual leader of this isolated church[277].

It touches all the realms of ordinary people. Instead of supporting or praising the elite group only, the *KM* focuses more on the inferior level and assists them to achieve the higher state. It is also possible to think that the state of perfection is not so much a realized state of a privileged group, but a driving aspiration for all.

2.7 *The Use of the Bible*

While traveling through the 30 homilies, an observer sees that the thought pattern of the author and the addressed community is shaped by the Bible. There are scholars who consider it as a «work of biblical commentary designed to describe and highlight the biblical basis for the distinction between the Perfect and the Upright and their separate but interdependent ways of life»[278]. It is true that the author tries to encounter Scripture in his own ascetical context; but his intention was not to write a systematic commentary. Nevertheless, while exhorting the people to live a

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[276] Cf. PS III, 832^{22-23}(29,8); 856^{13-15}(29,19); 857^{6-10}(29,19); 917^{16-18}(30,24); 920^{12-14}(30,24).

[277] R.A. KITCHEN, «Zacchaeus's Half», 282.

[278] K. SMITH, «A Last Disciple», 90. He supports his argument by saying that the *KM* is mentioned in the collection of commentaries of *Catena Severi*. Cf. the margin note of MS Vat. Syr. 103, f. 116r, which is is available on-line. For this particular page, cf. [accessed: 26.09.2015], http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.103.pt.1/0232/scroll?sid=c9da5f9dc4d275636c8b00307bdfa150. K. Smith says that this reference indicates «if only in a small way, that the *Book of Steps* was used by and familiar to at least one later monk searching for a reference to add to a biblical commentary. The *Book of Steps* was read not as an exclusively ascetic treatise, though the manuscript evidence shows that this is certainly part of the story, and the text was surely not a lost piece of foreign literature irrelevant to later times and places». See f.no. 58 in K. SMITH, «A Last Disciple», 90.

life in a way leading to perfection, he continuously used the Bible to support his arguments «reading into and extracting out of the Biblical text»[279]. All his illustrations and allusions are biblical, the only exception being the *mēmrā* VI[280]. It is also evident that the anonymous author believes in the unity of both the testaments[281] and for him both of them are God created[282]. He never disregarded OT. According to him the OT is at the service of the NT[283].

Even though the *KM* quotes only from biblical books their canonicity is under discussion. The nature of the use of Bible in the Syriac Churches before the redaction of *Peshitta* is uncertain[284]. In the *Doctrine of Addai*,

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[279] R.A. KITCHEN, «Slouching towards Antioch», 54.

[280] Cf. PS III, 140-144(6,1-2). In this smallest *mēmrā* of the collection, the author presents the analogy of a king having a chest made for his jewels to explain the possibility of the Perfect to grow continuously beyond the so called stage of perfection.

[281] It is written in PS III, 681^{21}-684^{2}(22,21) as: «When He said He made both of them one Testament and He annulled law of the commandments by His commandments, so that He might make everything new with one testament. From now on not a single letter ܝ / *yōd* will pass away from the Law and the prophets. As for the rest, the whole Law and Prophets up to John we established in order to serve and then pass away». Here we have an indirect reference to Matt 5:18. The author gives a significant interpretation to the letter ܝ / *yōd*. The Ten Commandments are symbolically represented by the letter ܝ (*yōd*) which has the numerical value 10. See PS III, 684^{7-11}(22,21): «From then one letter ܝ (yōd) will remain-which is the ten commandments which are called *yōd* for there are ten commandments in the number of the signs».

[282] For the author of the *KM* «the Lord of OT», the creator God is one God and Lord of all (ܚܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟ ܟܠ). Cf. PS III, 128^{6}(5,15). Once he posits a question: « ܗܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܘܡܢ – ܗܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܡܠܟ ܒܥܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ Today's God, is He not the same one as of old?». Cf. PS III, 184^{16-17}(7,19).

[283] Cf. PS III, 681^{21}-684^{2}(22,21).

[284] There was no fixed canon in Syriac churches till Mar Rabbula (411-435 AD) edited *Peshitta* (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ / *Pšiṭṭā*) as the authoritative form of the Bible for all the Churches of Syriac tradition. The name ܦܫܝܛܬܐ is the feminine passive participle of the verb ܦܫܛ/*pšaṭ* which means 'to stretch out' or 'to extend', cf. Sokoloff, 1258. The participle «*pšiṭṭā*» means 'simple', cf. ID., 1260. However it posses the contextual meaning very similar to «*vulgate*» as «widespread», «in common use», *etc*. The term *Peshitta* is used both for the OT translation made in 2nd cent. based on Hebrew text and for a revision of *Old Syriac version* of the NT, which became the standard version around 400 AD. For a detailed description of the biblical traditions of the Syriac Churches, cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*; R. B. TER HAAR ROMENY – C.E. MORRISON, «Peshitta», 326-332. The date of the *Peshitta* OT is uncertain, but seems that most books were translated in between 2nd cent. and the early 3rd cent. AD. The translation might have been a gradual process done by several people. There exists

the Apostle (ܥܠܐ ,ܕܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ) which is written by an anonymous writer most probably at the end of the 4th or in the first decades of 5th cent. AD — almost the same period of the *KM*[285], there are some indications. It mentions about the reading of *Diatessaron*, the *Law* and the *Prophets*, the *Gospels* and the *Epistles of St. Paul* and the *Acts of the Apostles*, in their assemblies[286]. The author of the *KM* never speaks about the canon of the

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a possibility that the young Syriac Church might have been inherited the translations of several books from Jewish communities of the region of Edessa and Nisibis, cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 17. In addition to the *Peshitta* we have other OT syriac translations, mainly that made by Paul of Tella during the years 614- 616 AD from the Greek Septuagint called 'the Seventy' (ܥܫܝܢ /*šba'in*) well known among modern scholars as *Syro–Hexapla* and the revised translation of certain OT books done by Jacob of Edessa, cf. *Ibid.*, 18. The *Peshitta* NT is translated from original Greek. It can be a revision of an earlier translation known as the *Old Syriac*. Certainly this revision is also a gradual process, supposed to have completed in the early 5th cent. and by replacing the *Old Syriac* it became «the authoritative Syriac text of the New Testament before the schism between the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Church of the East, brought about by the Christological controversies of the mid fifth century», cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 17. In the original *Peshitta* translation of NT the absence of certain Catholic Epistles (*viz*., 2Peter, 2-3John and Jude) and the *Book of Revelation* is notable. In 508 AD the Monophysite theologian Philoxenos revised *Peshitta* and included these 5 books, cf. M. COUCH, ed., *A Bible Handbook to Revelation*, 32. The deutero canonical books were translated from Greek except Bar Sira (Ecclesiasticus), which was translated from Hebrew. Cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 17-18.

[285] The *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (*DocAdd*) is supposed to be written by Labubnā Bar Sennāḳ and is first edited and translated by W. Cureton, but it was partial, cf. «The Doctrine of Addæus», in W. CURETON, ed. – tr., *Ancient Syriac Documents*, Syriac text, ܟ–ܣ; English trans., 6-23. There is a later edition and translation of the complete text by George Philips, cf. *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, G. PHILLIPS, ed.–tr. For edition of Philips with a new English translation, cf. *The Teaching of Addai*, tr. G. Howard. For a French translation of integral Syriac text, cf. *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus*, tr. A. Desreumaux. For a relevant study of the document, cf. S.H. GRIFFITH, «The Doctrina Addai», 269-292.

[286] See certain relevant passages from *DocAdd*:

ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܩ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܘܒܢܒܝܐ ܘܒܦܠܚܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܒܣܦܪ ܕܥܒܕܝ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܟܚ ܘܡܬܗܓܐ ܒܗܘܢ

Bible. However in the *mamlā* there is a reference to the testimonies of Scripture (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) as the Prophets, of Our Lord and of the Apostles[287]. There we read that the person who partakes of God can understand scripture and distinguish the commandments[288]. We have nearly 1200 references from the Bible[289], especially from the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Pauline corpus inclusive of the Epistle to the Hebrews[290]. Now let us analyse them.

2.7.1 The Old Testament Quotations

Being formed during the first decades of the 5th cent., it is sure that the *KM* represents the archaic phase of the formation of the OT canon of *Peshitta*[291]. It is very hard to determine the books included in the first OT *Peshitta*[292]. The four manuscripts, those containing almost the complete Old Testament[293] differ in several aspects when we compare the contents and the order of books. That means neither the content nor the order of the books was fixed properly at the time of those MSS. Hence, it is not easy to

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ܡܬܟܪܝܐ : ܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܩܕܡ ܥܡܐ ܕܢܩܪܝܢ ܒܗ : ܘܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܡܢ ܩܪܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܝ : ܘܦܥܠܝ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܢ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܡܢ ܐܦܣܘܣ : ܗܠܝܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܪܝ ܒܟܢܫܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܠܡܩܪܐ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܬܩܪܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܒ

speak something about the canon of OT used in the *KM*. Before reaching a conclusion let us analyze the OT citations from the work.

There are hundreds of citations from books of OT[294]. Kmosko suggests the probability of the use of certain Apocryphals by the author, to narrate the story of Adam and Eve[295]. Since we have no proof texts for their sure use, it is proper to consider such narrations as those originating from a common reservoir of thought from that period.

Major parts of the OT citations are from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, 1-2Samuel, 1-2Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Haggai, Malachi, and Sirach[296]. According to Kowalski the absence of certain books like Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther supports the use of primitive Syriac canon[297].

The critical editor Kmosko identified certain quotations from books of Tobit and Sirach[298]. The golden rule in the negative form in Tob 4:15: «Whatever you hate do not do to your neighbour» is found in many places in the *KM*[299]. Since such an expression was very common in ancient world we are not sure whether he quoted it from the Book of Tobit[300]. There are two occasions[301] where the author mentioned the name «Bar Sira (ܒܪ ܣܝܪܐ)». Both these verses are very different from the biblical text[302]. Hence here also the scholars failed to prove the possibility of the sure use of the Syriac translation of the Book of Sirach by the author.

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[294] In my article I have made a brief study of the nature of OT citations, cf. M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Old Testament Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*», 151-172.

[295] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, LIV. CLXVIII.

[296] For the details, cf. PS III, 1154-1155.

[297] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 183.

[298] Cf. PS III, 1154-1155.

[299] Cf. PS III, 145^{10-12}(7,1); 921^{23}-924^{1}(30,26).

[300] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 183.

[301] 1) PS III, 180^{4-7}(7,18): «As Bar Sira said (ܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܣܝܪܐ ܗܟܝܡܐ). Or [like] a wise man who cuts away our diseases and washes away our cancers, because not everyone knows how to cut the body on account of the nerves that should not be severed, except he who has taken care to learn how to cut». 2) PS III, 453^{3-7}(19,3): «Moreover, Bar Sirach said (ܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܣܝܪܐ ܐܢ), If you would hand yourself over to the service of God, lower yourself more than all there is in the land, [for] you hand yourself over to all [kinds] of trials».

[302] The possibility of the use of the Sirach in the *KM* is studied by Strothmann, cf. W. STROTHMANN, «Jesus-Sirach-Zitate bei Afrahat», 153-158. For him the two possible references in the *KM* is not sufficient to prove the sure use of the Sirach.

We could see an allusion to the 1Enoch VIII,1-2[303] that the evil spirits teaches the men to use «hidden sword (ܣܝܦܐ ܓܢܝܙܐ)»[304]. The *KM* presents a series of OT figures like Adam and sons[305], Abraham and Hosea[306], Melchizedek[307], Elijah[308], Elisha[309], Jacob and Esau[310], Joseph[311], Moses, Miriam, Aaron, and the Seventy men[312], Noah[313], Rahab the harlot[314], Solomon[315], David[316], Job[317], Daniel[318], Isaac (indirect)[319], Jeremiah[320], Samuel[321], Enoch[322], *etc*. The main purpose of the author in presenting

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[303] «Azazyel taught men to make swords». Azazyel is a fallen angel, cf. *Book of Enoch*, tr. M.A. Knibb, 190.

[304] Cf. PS III, 161^{5-13}(7,7).

[305] Cf. PS III, 17^{24-26}(1,4); 653^{15-20}(22,9); 228^{13-21}(9,11).

[306] Cf. PS III, 21(1,5-6); 221^{17}-224^{21}(9,8).

[307] Cf. Gen 14:18; PS III, 224^{19-21}(9,8).

[308] Cf. 1Kgs 18:36-46; PS III, 224^{22}-225^{16}(9,9).

[309] Cf. 2Kgs 2:23-24. 6,22-23; PS III, 225^{17}-228^{6}(9,10).

[310] Cf. Gen 33:1-18; PS III, 244^{23}-245^{8}(9,20); 256^{11-13}(10,4).

[311] Cf. PS III, 245^{9}-248^{11}(9,21).

[312] Cf. Num 12:3; Exod 17:8-16; 32:27.32-33; PS III, 72^{20-24}(3,13); 213^{6-20}(9,5); 216^{1-12}(9,5); 617^{24-25}(21,12); 620^{1-18}(21,12).

[313] Cf. Gen 6-7; PS III, 620^{19}- 621^{6}(21,13).

[314] Cf. PS III, 104^{14-20}(5,3).

[315] Cf. PS III, 104^{21-23}(5,3).

[316] Cf. PS III, 169^{8-12}(7,13); 217^{21-24}(9,7); 1Sam 26; 1Kgs 2:8. The commentary of IKgs in *Catena Severi*, cited the reference of David's pursuit of perfection as being from the *KM*, cf. The margin note of «MS Vat. Syr. 103, f. 116r», [accessed: 26.09.2015], http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.103.pt.1/0232/scroll?sid=c9da5f9dc4d275636c8b00307bdfa150.

[317] Cf. Job 1:21; PS III, 173^{11}-176^{3}(7,15); 621^{7-23}(21,14).

[318] Cf. PS III, 621^{23-24}(21,14).

[319] Cf. PS III, 176^{3-12} (7,15). The episode of the striving of the wells dug by Isaac, by the herdsmen of Gerar narrated in Gen 26:20 is quoted in the *KM* without mentioning Isaac's name. «When they had taken from them, the well of waters they did not fight, but called the place in which they had quarrelled with them, Esek and Sitnah». Those names in Syriac *Peshitta* ܥܣܩ and ܣܛܢܐ are used in the *KM* too.

[320] Cf. PS III, 208^{8-18}(9,2). By quoting Lam 3:27-30 the author says that Jeremiah sought the «yoke of Our Lord Jesus (ܢܝܪ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ)». He is also presented as one who is longing for solitude *īḥīdāyūtā*. We know in ancient proto-monastic tradition this term never intended simple solitude.

[321] Cf. 1Sam 12:25; PS III, 209^{19-20}(9,3).

[322] Cf. Gen 5:21-22; Heb 11:5; PS III, 313^{20-25}(13,4). It is very interesting to see how he used this biblical character to support his arguments. In the book of Genesis, Enoch had many other children after he begat Methuselah. There he is described as one who walked with God. In the epistle to Hebrew it is written that he never tasted death, he

these characters of the OT is to show the vital role of the Apostles in the salvation history. Those prophets and great figures of OT were held back from perfection by God himself, and later they were admitted into the kingdom following the Apostles[323]. With the support of Heb 11:40 the author places the priority of the 'Apostles' (ܫܠܝܚܐ) in salvation history. According to him, Christ hurried to perfect them before the Prophets and made them first[324]. Certain unique expressions of *Peshitta* are also notable[325].

The author's favorite character from Old Testament is nobody else but Adam. The first 4 chapters of the Book of Genesis are commented on in the work in a detailed but in a peculiar way. It is also relevant to note the absence of the citation of Gen 1:27[a] where it is mentioned that God created man in His image. For the author, Adam is created in the 'image of Angels' (ܕܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ) of heaven. The absence of lust in angels is the main reason for this similarity[326]. For supporting his idea that Adam and Eve were virgins in Paradise and that sexuality is the characteristic of a fallen world the author presents Adam and Eve before the fall as nude children[327]. In the *KM*, the sexual reproduction is man's choice and God originally intended an «asexual way of reproduction». Suppose if he never chose that way, it would be God's responsibility to provide humanity an appropriate way to multiply and to keep the generations.

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was not found, because God had translated him. But before that he had the testimony that he pleased God. For the author of the *KM* after the birth of his son Methuselah he became Holy. The verb «ܩܕܫ» means «to be pure, to hallow sanctify, consecrate, to set apart for a holy use». Cf. Payne Smith, 491. But it has a technical meaning in early proto monastic Syriac tradition. In Syriac proto monastic tradition a *qaddīšā* is a married person who abstains from sexual intercourse. In technical sense *qaddīšūṯā* is abstinence from marital intercourse, which can be a temporary or a permanent state. For a brief study of these terms, cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 109-112. That means in the *KM*, the merit of Enoch is that he renounced sexual relationship.

[323] Cf. M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Old Testament Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*», 161.

[324] Cf. PS III, 229^{10-22}(9,12).

[325] a) Exod 21:24: «An eye for an eye… A cheek for a cheek (ܥܝܢ ܬܚܬ ܥܝܢ ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ)». Cf. PS III, 673^{12}(22,16). b) Job 40:19: «God made him make war (ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܪܒܐ)», cf. PS III, 696^{3-4}(23,2). In RSV we read: «Let him who made him bring near his sword».

[326] Cf. PS III, $344^{12-13.23-24}$(15,4); 345^{7-8}(15,5); 352^{10-15}(15,7); 601^{14-19}(21,7).

[327] Cf. Gen 2:25. 3:7; PS III, 340^{12-15}(15,3); 341^{4-7}(15,3).

if he had wanted he could have made children by the hairs of their heads or by their finger nails, and the people would have become the images of angels (ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)[328].

Here Eve's birth from the side of Adam is put forward as an example of such a possibility. Eve is presented as Adam's daughter[329]. Adam's existence in dual Paradise[330], the 'Tree of Life' (ܐܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܐ)[331] as Christ[332], the 'Tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (ܐܝܠܢ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܛܒܐ ܘܒܝܫܐ) as Satan[333] are also notable among his exegetical arguments based on the first chapters of the Book of Genesis.

While analyzing the OT verses in the *KM*, one is easily be struck by the free interpretation of the author in giving a sound biblical basis for his arguments. Many of the biblical passages and the great figures of OT were his way of supporting the main institutions of the *KM*, *viz*., the Perfect and the Upright. The main focus of the author is on the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. He was not overstrict about citing verses of Scripture exactly. Rather he depended mainly on the biblical themes and used his memory to cite them in the work. We have to appreciate his proficiency in using the Scripture to present his exhortations. The only text quoted in the entire work is the Bible - which was at that time canonically in a fluid state. So many scholars are trying to find the influences of Deutrocanonical as well as Apocryphal writings in it. The possibility of the influences of such traditions originated in the milieu of the author and his community cannot be denied. There exist many possibilities for further research, but this study focused only on the *KM* and never tried to find similar usages in other Syriac Fathers.

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[328] PS III, 602[17-19](21,7).

[329] Cf. PS III, 740[1-2] (25,3).

[330] Cf. PS III, 588[22]-589[3](21, 2); 592[8-9](21,3); 605[10-11](21,8); 612[13-15](21,10).

[331] For the symbolic significance of the «Tree of Life» in theological discussions, cf. M. KISTER, «The Tree of Life and the Turning Sword», 138-155.

[332] PS III, 589[3-5](21,2):

ܐܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܒܐܢܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܥܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܚܝܐ ܒܦܝܪܝܗ ܀

«The good tree in that world of light invisible to the eye of flesh is Our Lord Jesus. He is the Tree of life who gives everything life by its fruits».

[333] Cf. PS III, 584[3-5](21,1).

2.7.2 The Gospel Quotations

In his preface to the critical edition, M. Kmosko showed certain examples of gospel quotations that have parallels in Aphrahat – who is commonly believed to have used the *Diatessaron*[334] – to prove that the author of the *KM* used *Diatessaron*[335]. The later scholars A. Rücker[336] and

[334] This is the oldest Syriac harmony of the four Gospels supposed to be done by Tatian (*c.* 120-185 AD), a Mesopotamian writer who studied in Rome under Justine the Martyr. For a brief description about Tatian, cf. W. L. PETERSEN, «Tatian», 396-397. This harmony may be composed from the oldest text of the gospels in the form they had in the mid 2nd cent. It is also suggested that Tatian used his master Justin's harmony of the Synoptic Gospels and added to it, the materials from the Gospel of John. So we can observe in it many deviations from the modern editions of the Gospels, but much similarity with other second century sources like *Jewish Christian Gospel fragments*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, *etc*., cf. W.L. PETERSEN, «Diatessaron», 122-123. Petersen remarks: «This means that when he composed the *Diatessaron*, Tatian either used proto-canonical Gospels whose text contained readings now found only in the Jewish – Christian Gospels, or that, in addition to the canonical Gospels, he also used extra canonical Gospels, including one or more Jewish – Christian Gospels», *Ibid*., 123. The discussions about the authorship and the original language in which it is composed are still in discussion. The Greek word διὰ τεσσάρων (*dia tessarōn*) means "through the four", «that is a single Gospel text derived from four Gospels», S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 18. In Syriac it is known as the '*Gospel of the Mixed*' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܡܚܠܛܐ). During the first four centuries, *Diatessaron* was considered as the authoritative Gospel text and reverentially used in ecclesiastical circles for the liturgical purposes. Later Mar Rabbula in the rule no. 43 of his Admonitions for the Priests and the *Bnay Qyāmā* strictly instructed to use the '*Separated Gospels*' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܝ). See his rule no. 43:

ܒܟܠ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܦܪܫܝ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܘܡܫܬܡܥ ܗܘ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕ

I. Hausherr[337] arrived at the same conclusion as beyond question. The possibility that the *Diatessaron* was used surely exists. In 1968, partially admitting his predecessors' findings, A. Baker went ahead with the hypothesis that more sources was possible[338]. He agreed with the use of *Diatessaron* and pointed out some sound basis from the text itself. Without distinguishing one Gospel from another the author introduces quotations simply under the general word the 'Gospel' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ)[339]. When he quotes from a sequence as in a narrative or parable we can see a mixed order as in the harmony of the Gospels[340]. But a close analysis of the Biblical quotations reveals the truth that as Baker remarked: «the Liber Graduum used other sources for his New Testament quotations than the *Diatessaron*»[341]. His conclusion is a call for future students to bring more light:

> if, normally, our author uses a *Diatessaron* text… that is not all. He has a particular version from the middle of the fourth century, with personal characteristics sometimes in agreement with his contemporaries, Aphraates, and Ephrem, but also quite extraordinary readings that perhaps do not come from any version of the Gospel Harmony at all. Some can be traced in the extant Old Syriac separate Gospels[342] and others, from the testimony of later Fathers, may have existed in other Old Syriac versions that have now perished. Finally, there appears to be some non-canonical source or sources from which some unusual versions of the New Testament texts are derived[343].

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[337] Cf. I. HAUSHERR, «Quanam aetate», 495-496. He followed the studies of A. Rücker and by presenting some of the examples that he brought out already Hausherr reached the same conclusion.

[338] Cf. A. BAKER, «The Significance of the New Testament», 171-175.

[339] Cf. PS III, 273^{23}(11,1); 369^{17}(15,14); 572^{3}(20,15); 680^{4}(22,19); 684^{17}(22,21); 685^{17}(22,23); 812^{14}(29,1). In this matter the author followed Aphrahat. For a brief discussion cf. F.R. SHEDINGER, *Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures*, 24-25.

[340] For a detailed analysis, cf. A. BAKER, «The Significance of the New Testament», 171.

[341] A. BAKER, «The Significance of the New Testament», 174.

[342] *Vetus Syra* (*Old Syriac*) is the modern term for the NT version prior to the *Peshitta* the '*Separated Gospels*' (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܫܐ), excluding *Diatessaron*. We have knowledge about it only from 2 ancient MSS *viz*., Curetonian (after William Cureton, its first editor) and the Sinaitic (Since the MS belongs to St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai). For a brief but sound description, cf. A. JUCKEL, «Old Syriac Version. Vetus Syra», 317-318; S.P. BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 33-34.

[343] A. BAKER, «The Significance of the New Testament», 175.

2.7.3 The Other NT Quotations

There are few quotations from or allusions to the Acts of the Apostles. The name of the book of 'Acts' is mentioned twice[344] connected with two persons mentioned in it, *viz*., Agabus and Gamaliel. In addition to that, there are references to the episodes of the election of Paul[345], the vision given to Peter[346], the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost[347] *etc*. In all these occasions a free use of the texts of the Acts of the Apostles is notable. Since for the Acts and the Letters of the Apostles, the MSS of a pre-version before *Peshitta* is not yet known, it is hard to say whether the author used a pre-*Peshitta* corpus or not. The next attention goes to the Pauline corpus. Since a brief study of the «Pauline exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*», is attached in the Appendix here we skip it[348]. It is already mentioned that the Syriac Churches did not have the Book of Revelation[349] in their canon till 6th cent. In the *KM* too, any direct quotations from it is not seen. Hence, it is possible to say that it supports the use of the early Syriac New Testament canon. However the eschatological concept of the «Heavenly Jerusalem» put forward in the Book of Revelation and absent in ancient Syriac writers is repeated many times in the *KM*[350] may be because of the allusions to Gal 4:26 and Heb 12:22. There is a detailed study about it in Chapter IV[351].

2.7.4 The Extra-Canonical Works and the Apocryphals

Many quotations from non-canonical works can be seen in the *KM*. «Some of which are debatable whether they are direct quotations or merely

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[344] The first time it appears as part of *mamlā*. While speaking about the author of the *KM* the Syriac editor says in PS III, 4^{7-10} that: «he was a great and perfect man who ranks with Apostles and prophets like Agabus and companions who are mentioned in *Acts* (ܦܥܘܠܣ)». Cf. Acts 11:28. In *mēmrā* XXX the famous words of Gamaliel in Acts 5:38-39 are quated with the introduction: «let us speak as Gamaliel did to the people in *Acts of the twelve Apostles* (ܦܥܘܠܣ ܕܫܬܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܥܠܡܗ)». PS III, 873^{20-21}(30,5).

[345] Cf. Acts 9:11-15; PS III, 745^{17-23}(25,6).

[346] Cf. Acts 10:13-15; PS III, 129^{10-16}(5,17).

[347] Cf. Acts 2:2; PS III, 553^{18-22}(20,10).

[348] See the Appendix in pp. 379-386.

[349] See section «2.7 *The Use of Bible*» of this Chapter; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 271.

[350] Cf. PS III, 144^{7-14}(6,2); 193^{8}(8,2); 264^{23}(10,8); 328^{19}(14,2); 329^{9-11}(14,2); 372^{11}(15,15); 608^{13-14}(21,8); 741^{6}(25,4); 745^{21}(25,6); 776^{19}(27,4); 869^{8}(30,3).

[351] See Chap. IV, section «3.1.1 Triple gradated Jerusalem».

dips into the same common reservoir of thought from the period»[352]. There are some sayings of Paul starting with «thus says the Apostle (ܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܥܠܡܐ)» in the *KM*. They cannot be find in any canonical Epistles. E. Stori did her study about the 3 extra-canonical sayings of St. Paul found in the *KM*[353], those have no parallels in any other early Syriac literature known. She reached at the conclusion that the anonymous author is a free interpreter and presents his argument using apocryphal sayings of St. Paul circulating among his community.

> Il detto esaminato sopra quindi si collaca perfettamente nella teologia del LG, insiste infatti su temi cari al nostro testo e potrebbe essere una parola apocrifa di Paolo conosciuta nella comunità ascetica di cui faceva parte chi ha scritto il LG, rimodellata a partire dai passi paolini di Col. 2,17 ed Eb. 11,3. I temi in esso presenti infatti sono temi di cui a lungo si parla nel nostro testo, e che rivestono una importanza particolare nella sua economia... Anche in questi detti è chiara l'intenzione del LG di avere un riferimento scritturistico forte per dare delle solide fondamenta alla teologia e all'esegesi che viene fatta delle scritture e del messaggio cristiano[354].

The openion of Stori seems to be right. It is already mentioned that the *KM* has reliable quotations or references from *Didache*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, *Sirach*, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and the *Sheperd of Hermas*[355]. Hence the possibility of the use of other unknown Apocryphal writings cannot be denied.

The author narrates the biblical story freely. R. A. Kitchen describes his style usig the modern terminology 'Eisegesis'[356] which means «reading into the text the meaning one desires»[357]. He presumes that the Patriarchs

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[352] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, tr., lxiv.

[353] Cf. PS III, 12^{8-10}(1,1); 273^{19-22}(11,1); 596^{7-9}(21,4).

[354] E. STORI, «Alcune note sui detti extracanonici», 149-150.

[355] See section «1. *Status Quaestionis*».

[356] The word 'eisegesis' is a modern theological term used to describe an approach to interpreting a passage in the Bible by putting a meaning into the text. In eisegesis we impose on the text a meaning derived from our own pre-conceptions and mindsets. Thus eisegesis is usually perceived as a negative term to indicate that the persons using this method are coming to the passage with a pre-conceived notion and wishing to force the scriptural text to fit into their frame of thought, cf. A.J. BELLINZONI, *The New Testament. An Introduction to Biblical Scholarship*, 56; J.L. MORRISSON, *Standing Firm in Faith*, 59; R. A. KOIVISTO, *One Lord One Faith*, 186.

[357] *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, tr., lxiv.

and the Apostles are still models and companions for the contemporary faithful on their life journey[358]. When compared to other authors of the same milieu, his approach to the biblical texts is quite different. Paradise and 'the history of sin' play an important role in this work, but the author is not very interested in the biblical history in its own right. He is more focused on its significance for the theological and ascetical system of his work. He thus applies a metaphoric or symbolic interpretation to the plain meaning of the scripture[359]. The author as a pastor interprets, interconnects and explains the Scripture according to the requirement of his exhortation. Hence, it is very hard to determine whether he liberally used the biblical texts from the versions that we mentioned above, or he used many versions in a comparative way or he possessed some other sources which are not yet revealed.

3. The *KM* and the Messalianism

As it is mentioned already the *KM* was under the cloud of the Messalian heresy for three decades[360]. This major accusation of M. Kmosko marginalized this treasure without an attempt of a re-examination for many years. This study cannot skip this accusation without analyzing its reasons to see whether there exists some truth behind it.

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[358] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, tr., lxiii-lxiv.

[359] Cf. L. VAN ROMPAY, «The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation», 629; P. BETTIOLO, «Liber Graduum (Late 4th – Early 5th Century)», 444.

[360] The background of such an accusation is well explained by a later scholar, A. Vööbus as: «When the learned editor, Kmosko, was preparing this text for publication, other important discoveries were moving the scholarly world. Villecourt found that certain passages in the 'Spiritual Homilies' preserved under the name of Macarius coincided with the Messalian phrases quoted by Timothy of Constantinople and John of Damascus; and on the basis of these observations he came to the conclusion that all this material ascribed to the name of Macarius must be of Messalian origin. These and the subsequent studies gave a real incentive for a new approach and created a feeling that the long lost 'Asceticon' of the Messalians, known by name through the Acts of Ephesian Synod, has been finally exhumed. It certainly is not bearing that Kmosko's preparation for his edition fell within this period of excitement. These new winds together with all that was in the air could hardly leave untouched a scholar who was working on this unknown ascetical work from an anonymous author. It is not a cause for wonder that here, too, Kmosko began to see positive connections between the Ketābā demasqātā and the Messalian movement. He felt that the milieu suggested by this document points to an early stage in the development of this movement». A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 179; cf. ID., «Liber Graduum», 108-109.

3.1 *Messalianism*

The name «Messalians» originated from the Syriac root ܨܠܝ which means «to incline» and which in the *Pa'el* conjugation bears the meaning 'to pray'. Thus, the word ܡܨܠܝܢܐ / *mṣallyānā* means 'one who prays'[361]. The term is transliterated into Greek as μεσσαλιανοί and translated as εὐχῖται and hence the movement also got the name Euchites[362]. Their Syriac name *Mṣallyānē* was, of course, a confirmation for its Mesopotamian origin. Unlike Arianism, Nestorianism, or Appollinarianism, the name of this movement is based on a trait (prayer), rather than on a person. It was found in the Middle East, Egypt, and Greece from the 4th cent. to the end of the Middle Ages[363]. The historical references to its origin and development are scattered in various writings of different persons *pro et contra*[364].

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[361] Payne Smith, 294.

[362] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1074.

[363] Cf. B. BINGAMAN, – B. NASSIF, ed., *The Philokalia*, 90.

[364] For the details cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 5-15 and for the bibliographical details of Messalian Sources, cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1074-1076. The noteworthy information of Messaliens are from following authors:

1. Epiphanius wrote in his *Panarion* about their presence in Antioch as they wandered and begged in groups of men and women and renounced everything. They slept on the streets of cities. They were not ready to work and pretended to pray throughout the day, see *haer.* LXXX in EPIPHANIUS OF CONSTANTIA (SALAMIS), *Panarion (Adversus haereses)*, English trans., *The Panarion*, tr. F. Williams, 629-638.

2. Ephrem in his ܡܕܪܫܐ /*madrāšā* XXII of the *Contra Haereses* presents a list of heresies in stanza 4 which includes the name Messalians. See *HHaer* XXII, 4[9-10]: «ܘܡܨܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܙܥܙܥܝܢ ❊ ܠܗܘ ܛܒ ܕܡܦܢܐ ܠܥܕܪܗ ܕܥܢܐ» (And the *Mṣallyānē* who are stirred up: Good is he who makes them return to his sheepfold)», E. BECK, ed., *Contra Haereses*, 79. The lists of doctrines attributed to Messalians, probably derived from various anti-messalian synods and councils, are the only source of theological information about this movement. These lists have strong links with writings traditionally but mistakenly attributed to Macarius the Egyptian Monk, the great 4th cent. leader of monastic life in the desert of Scetics. These writings of Pseudo-Macarius influenced Greek as well as Syriac monastic literatures. The famous monastic work the *Philokalia* is also influenced by it. Syriac writers like Dadisho, Isaac of Nineveh, Joseph Hazzaya, John of Dalyatha demonstrate some dependence on writings of Pseudo-Macarius. Some other texts like, Gregory of Nyssa's *De instituto christiano*, the works of Mark the Monk and Diadochus of Photike are associated with the Messalian questions and show affinities with them. Finally the *KM* is significant for its linguistic and thematic parallels with Pseudo-Macarian writings. In the Chap. IV, a brief study is did on the parallel texts regarding the «Church»; see section 3.6.2. For a detailed study of Messalian accusation on the

3.2 *Doctrinal Themes:*

The main teachings and practices of Messalians can be summed up as follows:

Teachings:

- The presence of an indwelling demon in each human from his birth.
- The inefficiency of Baptism for the expulsion of the demon. Sin remains in man even after Baptism. Other sacraments are also useless.
- The sole efficacy of prayer and severe ascetical practices for the expulsion of the demon.
- The coming of the Holy Spirit or the heavenly Bridegroom after the expulsion of the demon.
- Liberation from the passions (απάθεια).

Practices:

- Claims about visions and prophecy.
- Avoidance of work and the desire for sleep.
- Excessive sleep and the claim that dreams are prophetic.
- Disregard for ecclesiastical communion and structures.
- Denial, perjury, and prevarication[365].

Messalians held the view that by means of Adam's sin, a devil was united to every soul and could be expelled only by continuous prayer and asceticism. For them, «baptism by water» is not sufficient because the temptations continue even after its reception. They thus stood for «baptism by fire» which they interpreted as «constant prayer»; in other words, the Church and her Sacraments and good works are not enough. The sustained human effort was all that was needed to attain the highest spiritual gifts[366]. J. Meyendorff says: «for the Messalians, the mystic alone without anyone's help, and even without membership in the Church since baptism is useless, reaches the knowledge of God. He then becomes a sole authority for himself and others, irrespective of any sacramental ministry»[367].

KM, cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*; 198-240; R.A. RATCLIFF, *Steps along the Way of Perfection*, 33-99.

[365] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 55-56; A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1079-1082.

[366] Cf. G. O'COLLINS – E.G. FARRUGIA, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*, 156; L. WICKHAM, «The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited», 184.

[367] J. MEYENDORFF, *The Byzantine Legacy*, 209.

3.3 *Condemnation*

The Messalians were condemned by a series of local councils and synods[368]. Moreover, in 428 AD the movement was condemned in the Roman Empire by a civil law which is documented in *Theodosian Code*[369]. In the book no. XVI of this Codex, the words of condemnation of the Messalianism is recorded:

> Furthermore, since not all should be punished with the same severity, the Arians, indeed, the Macedonians, and the Apollinrians, whose crime it is to be deceived by harmful meditation and to believe lies about the Fountain of Truth, shall not be permitted to have a church within any municipality. Moreover, the Novatians and Sabbatians shall be deprived of the privilege of any innovation, if perchance they should so attempt. The Eunomians, indeed, the Valentinians, the Montanists or Priscillianists, the Phrygians, the Marcianists, the Borborians, the Messalians, the Euchites or Enthusiasts, the Donatists, the Audians, the Hydroparastatae, the Tascodrogitae, the Photinians, the Paulians, the Marcellians, and those who have arrived at the lowest depth of wickedness, namely, the Manichaeans, shall nowhere on Roman soil have the right to assemble and pray. The Manichaeans, moreover, shall be expelled from the municipalities, since no opportunity must be left to any of them whereby an injury may be wrought upon the elements themselves[370].

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[368] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1075-1076.

[369] The «THEODOSIAN CODE is a compilation of the laws or decrees of Rome issued by the Emperors from 313, when Constantine consolidated his power in the Western Empire, until 438, in the reign of Theodosius II», cf. *The Theodosian Code and Novels*, tr. C. Pharr, xvii.

[370] *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5. 65 §2: *Posthaec, quoniam non omnes eadem austeritate plectendi sunt, Arianis quidem, Macedonianis et Apollinarianis, quorum hoc est facinus, quod nocenti meditatione decepti credunt de veritatis fonte mendacia, intra nullam civitatem ecclesiam habere liceat; Novatianis autem et Sabbatianis omnis innovationis adimatur licentia, si quam forte tentaverint; Eunomiani vero, Valentiniani, Montanistae seu Priscillianistae, Phryges, Marcianistae, Borboriani, Messaliani, Euchitae sive Enthusiastae, Donatistae, Audiani, Hydroparastatae, Ascodrogitae, Photiniani, Pauliani, Marcelliani et qui ad imam usque scelerum nequitiam perveneruntt, Manichaei nusquam in Romano solo conveniendi orandique habeant facultatem; Manichaeis etiam de civitatibus expellendis, quoniam nihil his omnibus relinquendum loci est, in quo ipsis etiam elementis fiat iniuria*.
Codex Theodosianus, G. HAENEL, ed., 1570; English trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels*, tr. C. Pharr, 462; it is also referred in A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1075.

The climax was at the third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431 AD, when an anathema was pronounced against their heretical writing, the *Asceticon*[371], which is assumed to be a Pseudo-Macarius text[372].

3.4 *The Presence of the Messalians in Persia*

After this double condemnation, having been prohibited in the Roman Empire both ecclesiastically and civilly, this movement that had had its origin in Mesopotamia, sought refuge in the nearby Sassanid Empire. Thus, its adherents began to be active in the Persian Church, which was at that time in the process of development as an autonomous Church outside the Roman Empire[373]. There are many references to the attempts of the Persian Church to condemn this movement in various Acts of a series of Synods. From these Synodal Acts, it is possible to infer that the Messalians were active in the 5th and 6th centuries in the Middle East even after its condemnation by the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD. An explicit remark about the Messalians from the Acts of the Synod of Mar Ezekiel of 576 AD is quoted here to give a glimpse of their practices:

First Chapter: concerning the Messalians:

> It was reported in the synod that there are some who clothe themselves in the false garb of mourners (ܥܛܠܐ) and ascetics (ܚܫܝܡܐ), and they corrupt the minds of believers (ܡܚܒܠܢܐ) and lead away women who are steeped in sins. They venture to say that there is no sin in things done improperly, and completely do away with what is due, despising the holy place, fasting (ܨܘܡܐ), and prayer (ܨܠܘܬܐ), and all things by which God is reconciled to sinners (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ). By their words they make known that there is no reward (ܐܓܪܐ) for the good (ܛܒܐ) and no punishment (ܥܘܢܫܐ) for the wicked (ܪܫܝܥܐ) and in this audacity, for which there is no like, they sometimes turn men from their wives and wives from their husbands; or they beguile and capture the minds of those who are widows, who have in them the fervor of youthful vigor, or betrothed virgins, or who are not yet betrothed, and make them go around with them for the fulfilment of their uncleanness and great lasciviousness. Openly they rise up against the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ), the Author of laws (ܡܫܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ), and with him they make their fight,

[371] Cf. J. D. MANSI, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Tomus Quartus*, 1477; J.C. HEFELE, *A History of the Councils*, 77.

[372] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 13; A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1075.

[373] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Messaliens», 1077.

engaging in these great atrocities and powerful wickedness. The synod has decreed and defined concerning these and their like that if there are some who have received the ranks of the priesthood (ܟܗܢܘܬ) and are in the ministry of the holy Church (ܫܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ), they shall be completely cast out and alienated from every holy order of the ministry of the holy Church (ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܡܫܝܢ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ) and from all contact with the believers. They shall be given a period of one complete year for penance in order to be given fellowship in the holy Mysteries (ܪܙܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) and join with the faithful. However, they shall not be allowed to be entrusted with ecclesiastical ranks again. If it is the religious (ܒܬ ܝܘܕܝܢ) or faithful layman (ܥܡܐ) who have done this, they shall be given a period of six months for penance (ܬܫܒܘܬܐ) and then given participation with the faithful[374].

As the text shows, the movement affected members of the Church at almost all levels: priests, deacons, religious and lay persons, including husbands, wives, widows, youths and virgins. Due to the historical and regional diversity of this movement, it is very difficult to give it an inclusive single «one-size-fits-all» definition. It is better to consider the so-called Messalianism as a spiritual movement in a liquid state rather than a

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[374] *The Eastern Synods*, tr. M.J. Birnie, 106-107 (Unpublished). See the original text from *Synodicon Orientale*, J. B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., $115^{16} – 116^{4}$:

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܘܢܗܕܘܣ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܘܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܘܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܘܦܪܣ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܫܒܥ

heretical group that can lend the name of a particular heresiarch[375]. It represents broad monastic imbalanced inclinations. Their major challenge was against the Church. That is, they did not trust the Church as the sacramental body, questioned the efficacy of Baptism and Eucharist, and always tried to downplay the hierarchy of the Church[376]. The next section makes an attempt to see whether there is some truth behind the Messalian allegation on the *KM*.

3.5 *Reasons Behind the Messalian Accusation of the KM*

The major reason behind the Messalian accusation on the *KM* was its similarity with *Homilies* of Pseudo-Macarius which were considered as Messalian texts[377]. The interesting fact is that those *Homilies* themselves were not Messalian texts. This fact is well explained by C. Stewart:

> When one examines the most complete lists of Messalian doctrines, those of Timothy of Constantinople and John of Damascus, it becomes evident that each of the 'doctrinal points' in the list can be related to a theme in the writings of Ps.-Macarius... However, none of these lists can pretend to be a representative précis of the teaching of Ps.-Macarius. Several distinctive images and words from the Ps.- Macarian repertoire are to be found in the lists, but they are wrenched from their place in the larger world of Ps.-Macarius. It is this world which must now be explored... because of their incomplete (and unsympathetic) perspective, the lists cannot set the agenda for a study of the Ps.-Macarian spiritual vocabulary[378].

The spiritual vocabulary and key terms used in *Homilies* of Pseudo-Macarius are puzzling and strange for the Greek Christian tradition until one seeks Syriac texts for help. Many parallels with Pseudo-Macarius can be seen in the writings of Ephrem and Aphrahat and, of course, in the *KM*[379]. The reason for this similarity is explained by Stewart as: «the possibility of an interesting attempt by the Ps. Macarian Greek author who, profoundly influenced by Syrian Christian symbolic and poetic traditions, tried to interpret and translate aspects of Syriac traditions for a Greek-speaking audience»[380]. Therefore, these accusations against both the works

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[375] Cf. K. FITSCHEN, «Did 'Messalianism'», 353.

[376] Cf. B. BINGAMAN, – B. NASSIF, ed., *The Philokalia*, 90; C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 63-64.

[377] See this Chapter, section «3.1 Messalianism».

[378] C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 68-69.

[379] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 69.

[380] C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 69.

are actually the result of a misunderstanding of an unfamiliar terminology and culture.

The claim of the author that the 'pledge of the Satan' (ܩܝܡܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ)[381] co-exists in the Upright with the 'pledge of the Spirit'(ܩܝܡܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ)[382], and the teaching that, the Perfect can transcend the visible Church, gave a Messalian colour to this work[383]. Moreover, the Perfect are presented in this work as detached from any physical labour. P. Bäss in his article tried to bring out many characteristics of the Perfect – those were considered as the messalian elements – of the *KM* as shared by many ancient fathers like, Clement of Alexandria, Theodoret, Basil, Aphrahat, Ephrem, Philoxenos and early documents like *Syrian Martyr Acts*[384], the *Acts of Thomas*, the *Pseudo-Clementine Literature*, *etc.* [385]. The characteristics of the Perfect of the *KM viz*., the absolute poverty that disables a person from the acts of charity, the continuous prayer and contemplation as means to be in union with Lord, dependence on the Lord – the true doctor without seeking medical aid in sickness *etc*. were the usual practices of the traditional Mesopotamian monastic circles[386]. Scholars like G. Quispel[387] and A. Baker[388] argued that in the *KM* there are many quotes from the *Gospel of Thomas* – the apocryphal work that was «popular only in a very special sector of Syriac Christianity which proclaimed a profound and astonishing Encratism[389]» and was liberally used by Messalians. However P. Bäss brought out the fact that in the *KM*, the application of such quotes never supported Encratism in its strict sense. The «Upright» of the *KM* is the

[381] Cf. PS III, 69[5](3,11).

[382] A phrase adapted from 2Cor 1:22; 5:5.

[383] S. BEGGIANI, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Spirituality*, 32.

[384] In his article P. Bäss just mentioned in «syrischen Märtyrerakten» without specifying the text. However, in the *History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*, we could see several elements of the characteristics of the Perfect of the *KM*. In the episode of the self-presentation of *Bar Ṣabba'e* before the king, such elements are evident. For example: his appreciation for the things which are unseen, the usual practice of continuous prayer and vigil, openion that if one handles the authority of this world that would be an impediment to move in the ways to unseen reality, *etc*., cf. PS II, 794[1-23](V); English trans., *The Martyrdom and History of Blessed Simon Bar Ṣabba'e*, tr. K. Smith, 78.

[385] Cf. P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 369-370.

[386] Cf. P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 372-373.

[387] Cf. G. QUISPEL, «The Syrian Thomas», 234-235.

[388] Cf. A. BAKER, «Fasting to the World», 291-294.

[389] Cf. G. QUISPEL, «The Syrian Thomas», 234.

married people who deserve salvation. For P. Bäss, the *KM*'s sincere appreciation of the Church and its sacraments, its teaching about the heavenly vision of the purified person only as anticipation in the mirror of the heart, *etc*., are the evidence of its non– Messalian character[390].

3.6 *The Proofs for the Non-Messalian Nature of the KM*

In 1954, in one article[391], A. Vööbus challenged the assertion that the *KM* was Messalian in character, and in a section of the first volume of his *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*[392] he tried to dispel the Messalian aspersions upon the text. Vööbus succeeded in presenting many elements in the *KM* that oppose the Messalian doctrine, especially its exhortation to keep relations with the Church and its institutions — it is relevant for this study which deals with the *KM*'s vision of the Church[393]. He proved that none of the four points which I. Hausherr presented[394] as the characteristics of the Messalians can be found in the *KM*. The following are the main evidences of its non-Messalian nature.

3.6.1 An Emphasis on the Practice of an Integral Asceticism

Messalians proposed prayer as the only means for perfection. But as it is mentioned above, the *KM* says very clearly that different forms of asceticism, like prayer (ܨܠܘܬܐ)[395], fasting (ܨܘܡܐ)[396], alms giving (ܨܕܩܬܐ)[397], *etc*., are required in the process of attaining perfection.

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[390] Cf. P. BÄSS, «Der Liber Graduum», 372-374.

[391] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 108-128.

[392] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 178-179.

[393] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 111.

[394] Hausherr pointed those four facts as the summary of the Messalian doctrinal system, *viz.*, 1. L'inhabitation du demon dans l'âme 2. Inefficacité du baptême et des sacraments pour purifier l'âme de cette presence diabolique 3. Efficacité exclusive de la prière 4. L'effect obtenue, qui est double - l'apathia et la venue du Saint Esprit.
Cf. I. HAUSHERR, «L'erreur fondamentale», 329-330.

[395] Cf. PS III, 473^{21}(19,13); 477^{7}(19,15); 488^{8}(19,21); 516^{8}(19,37); 544^{23-24}(20,8); 548^{21-24}(20,9); 557^{7-13}(20,11); 588^{16}(21,2); 820^{6}(29,3); 824^{12}(29,4); 828^{7}(29,6); 832^{15}(29,8); 836^{4-13}(29,9); 849^{25}(29,16); 853^{10}(29,17).

[396] Cf. PS III, 253^{12}(10,3); 257^{18}(10,5); 265^{26}(10,9); 268^{11-18}(10,10); 269^{5}(10,10); 312^{17}(13,3); 345^{12}(15,5).

[397] Cf. PS III, 16^{6}(1,2); 185^{5}(7,20); 312^{20-22}(13,3); 313^{18}(13,4); 476^{1}(19,13); 481^{12}(19,19); 637^{11}(22,2); 744^{24}(25,5); 749^{1-22}(25,7-8); 801^{27}(28,11); 828^{3}(29,6); 849^{16}(29,16).

3.6.2 The Absence of the Doctrine of the Indwelling of the Demon

The Messalian doctrine of the «indwelling of the demon» is absent in the *KM*. Rather the concept of original sin is presented in the *KM* not as caused by the demon which enters man after his birth, but by concupiscence[398]. The abiding reality of sin is explained in the terms ܪܓܫܐ ܕܪܓܫܐ / *mardītā d- reggṯā*[399]. It means 'course of desire', or 'course of sin' that became a reality for the descendants of Adam and Eve[400]. The *KM*, however, has little concern about how this ܪܓܫܐ is transmitted from generation to generation. Its transmission is not clear in the *KM*. In one place, for example, the author states: «for there is no one among the sons of Adam who has not in the first place sinned and subsequently been justified. This inclination was implanted in Adam on the day he transgressed the command. From then on it was implanted in all of his offspring from their mother's womb»[401]. But in another place, he says that babies are free from these desires: «Now infants neither lust nor judge nor are they anxious»[402].

In any case, there is no mention of the «indwelling of a demon». The emphasis is moreover in the presence of sin rather than on its intergenerational transmission. That means, the *KM* is not stating any strict doctrine of original sin. Instead, it refers to 'desires' and the persistence of those 'desires' which always accompany one's life on earth[403]. These desires can be removed from a person through a life of Perfection, *i.e.* by returning to God's intention for humanity, in other words, returning to the heavenly city[404]. It is through the imitation of Christ that one can attain this

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[398] Cf. PS III, 536^{2-10}(20,4).

[399] Cf. PS III, 336^{9-10}(15,1); 341^{19}(15,3); $356^{5.13}$(15,9). The term ܪܓܫܐ is from ,ܪܓ which means 'to walk', 'to flow', 'to travel', cf. Sokoloff, 1437. In associated with marriage too ܪܓܫܐ is applicable, cf. PS III, 336^{1-2}(15,1); 385^{5}(15,20). It is there for speaking about 'sexual desire'. There are expressions like «ܪܓܫܐ ܕܒܥܝܐ ܕܓܒܐ», PS III, 341^{12}(15,3); «ܪܓܫܐ ܕܒܥܝܐ ܕܓܒܐ», PS III, 340^{1}(15,2); «ܪܓܫܐ ܕܓܒܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ», PS III, 340^{5}(15,2).

[400] Cf. PS III, 629^{13-28}(21,18-19); 856^{4-10}(29,18-19).

[401] PS III, 125^{4-8}(5,14):

ܠܝܬ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܛܝ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܬܙܟܝ ܒܬܪ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܚܛܝ ܒ

Perfection, *i.e.* the recovery of Adam's original state[405]. When one is freed from the 'course of desire'(ܪܗܛ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ), and being filled with the Spirit of God, one becomes 'a new creation (ܒܪܝܬ ܪܘܚܐ) in Christ'[406]. The nature of this returning process according to the *KM* is studied well in chapter II[407].

3.6.3 The True Sense of the Term ܥܪܒܢܐ/ *'urbānā*

The author of the *KM* claims that the Upright receive the pledge of the Holy Spirit' (ܥܪܒܘܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ) while the Perfect have the fullness of the Spirit, the 'Paraclete' (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ)[408]. The pledge of the Spirit co-exists in the Upright with the 'pledge of Satan' (ܥܪܒܘܢ ܕܣܛܢܐ). As one progresses in the spiritual life, the increase of the Spirit and the diminishment of remnants of sin or Satan occur. Perfection is attained when the pledge of Satan is reduced to zero and the Spirit grows from pledge to fullness[409]. Here, the repeatedly used term *'urbānā*[410] deserves a special attention. The word *'urbānā* appears no where in Syriac literature except in *KM*. This unique usage is one of the puzzles of this work that created the cloud of doubt. It derives from the verb ܥܪܒ which can have meanings like 'to be a pledge', 'to mix', 'to mingle', 'to set', *etc.*[411] The editor M. Kmosko, originally failed to understand this term and he translated *'urbānā* in his Latin translation of the *KM* as *commixtio*, which gives the idea that Spirit and sin mixed together in the soul of a person which was a Messalian doctrine. But after twenty years when he prepared the *addenda* of his

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[405] Cf. PS III, $444^{5\text{-}17}$(18,5).

[406] Cf. PS III, 580^{16}(20,17); 581^{4}(20,27).

[407] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 The Perfection (ܫܠܡܘܬܐ)».

[408] In his *HIei* IX, $10^{5\text{-}8}$, Ephrem presents 'fasting' as the key to open the great treasure chest of Holy Spirit:

ܫܬ ܐܢܚ / ܪܙܘܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܝ ܪܒ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ ,ܕܡܫܬܚܪ / ܘܕܦܬܚ ܘܩܒܠ ܓܠܝܐ
ܕܚܠܡܐ/ ܕܐܬ ܫܠܡ ܡܦܫܩ ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܒ ❊ ܕܐܡ

E. BECK, ed., *De Ieiunio*, 28, Italian trans.: «Poniamo attenzione ai loro digiuni / che divennero le chiavi / (con cui) aprirono il forziere del Tesoro/Grande dello Spirito Santo /Aprì e riceevette la rivelazione / Che diede la narrazione del sogno (Dan 2:36) / e la sua interpretazione», M. NIN, ed. – E. VERGANI, tr., *Ephrem il Siro*, 79. The *KM* too considers 'fasting' as a means to attain perfection. It is seen in the section «3.6.1 An Emphasis on the Practice of an Integral Asceticism» of this Chapter.

[409] Cf. PS III, $69^{4\text{-}25}$(3,11-12).

[410] Cf. PS III, 16^{26}(1,2); 17^{2}(1,3); 68^{15}(3,11); 69^{5}(3,11); 72^{9}(3,12); 72^{21}(3,13); 76^{23}(3,14); 132^{21}(5,18); 373^{22}(15,16); 384^{3}(15,19).

[411] Cf. Sokoloff, 1133-1134; Payne Smith, 407. 427.

edition of the *KM*, he remarked that it can also mean 'pledge' (*pignus*)[412]. Its Hebrew equivalent עֵרָבוֹן *'ērābôn* can be found in Gen 38:17. This Hebrew word is not translated but only transliterated in the Septuagint as ἀρραβών and the word is used in the NT when it refers to the 'pledge of the Spirit'[413]. In the *Peshitta* for Gen 38:17-18 the Hebrew *'ērābôn* is translated as ܡܫܟܢܐ / *meškānā* which means 'pledge'[414], while the NT *Peshitta* transliterates the Greek word ἀρραβών as ܪܗܒܘܢܝ / *rahbōnā*. According to Guillaumont, *'urbānā* is an early Syriac *pre-Peshitta* version of *'ērābôn* and the form *rahbōnā*[415] is transliterated from the Greek

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[412] Cf. PS III, 1163. He added that in determining its significance, one must turn to etymology and context.

[413] Cf. 2Cor 1:22. 5:5; Eph 1:14.

[414] Sokoloff, 848.

[415] This term can be seen in Aphrahat and Ephrem. In *Exp.* XXIII, Aphrahat describes the body which the King (Christ) put on as a 'pledge' (*rahbōnā*) as well as 'hostage' (ܚܡܝܪܐ /*hmayrā*). See PS II, 97[15-26] (XXIII, 50):

ܕܒܗ ܡܫܟܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܠܟ̈ܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܘܬ̈ܢ ܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢ̈ܘ ܐܢܬ ܒܝ ܘܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܘܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ̈ܘ ܪܫ̈ܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܢ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ

ἀρραβών which is in turn transliterated from the Hebrew *ʿērābôn* [416]. Since none of the NT texts referring to ἀρραβών is cited in the *KM* we cannot verify the hypothesis of Guillaumont.

Recently C. Stewart after a detailed study of this term, without fixing the meaning either as 'to mix' or as 'to pledge' concluded that *ʿurbānā* of the Spirit is the same as that of the *ʿurbānā* of sin in a human person: vivid, real, and active; whether it be 'commixture' or 'pledge' (or both), it is certainly a 'presence'[417]. It is clear that the statements about *ʿurbānā* in the *KM* have a material as well as a spatial tone. The Spirit is presented as something physical that needs space to exist in a person and increases or decreases according to the presence of sin. The author never claims that Satan substantively dwells in a person[418], but such an expression is the result of the pneumatic mysticism in the ancient Syriac Church. The strong emphasis on the presence and activities of the Spirit was the unique characteristic of ancient Syriac literature[419]. Accepting the possibility of a misunderstanding due to the complexity of the *KM* and its pneumatic mystical background of formation, A. Guillaumont states that the *KM* was not a Messalian text but it expresses the pneumatic mysticism that can be inherited by a spiritual movement like Messalianism[420]. S.P. Brock, too,

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trans., *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, tr. C. McCarthy, 333; cf. L. LELOIR, ed., *Saint Éphrem Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant. Versione arménienne*, 334.

2. *HNat* XXII, 40[1-4]:

ܐܫܬܡܥ ܪܘܡܐ ܘܥܡܩܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܝܠܕܟ ܕܡܪܕ ܒܥܠ ܩܛܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܕܝܠܢ ܒܝܕ ܗܘ ܕܩܒܠ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܟ ܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܩ ܘܫܕܪ

«Depth and Height stood amazed that your nativity has subdued the rebels; for we have provided hostages for You, You have given us the Paraclete: the hostages ascended from us, the great power descended to us. Blessed is He who took and who sent», E. BECK ed., *De Nativitate*, 116. For Ephrem, Christ received *hmayrā* from us and given us a true *rahbōnā* from His own Nature, the Spirit the Paraclete, the pledge of life.

[416] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 313.

[417] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 202-203.

[418] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, xlviii.

[419] For a detailed study cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 31; F. BAÏSSARI «Liber Graduum», 66.

[420] «je dirai: le Livre des degrés n'est pas d'un messalien. En lui s'exprime une mystique pneumatique qui est propre au christianisme mésopotamien et syriaque et dont ont hérité les messaliens, originaires de ce milieu. Mais cette mystique de l'Esprit portait, en germe, les tendances qui ont fait le messalianisme, mouvement de 'spirituels'. Le Livre des degrés nous aide à comprendre comment le messalieanisme à

considers the work as belonging to the sort of milieu out of which Messalian tendencies grew[421].

3.6.4 The Emphasis on Ecclesial and Sacramental Life

The negative stand taken by the Messalians against the sacraments and the institutions of the Church cannot be found in the *KM*[422]. But it teaches the importance of leading an ecclesial life. The twelfth *mēmrā*, which supports the sacraments and visible Church is the best evidence for the non-Messalian character of this work. In fact, separation from the visible Church is presented as guilt. It affirms the fact that without the visible Church, no one can enter the Church at higher levels. One cannot skip the visible Church in order to have membership in the Church of the heart and hence, in the Church of heaven[423].

3.6.5 The Teaching Against the Spiritualization of Physical Asceticism

Avoiding all the regulations and laws of the Church and society, thinking that one is spiritually observing everything in one's heart is a dangerous attitude. The presence of such movements are there not only in the community of the *KM* but in all generations. The author is aware of the practical consequences of such an abuse of the ideal of Perfection. He recognizes the hypocrisy behind such tendencies and summons the Perfect to repent. The *mēmrā* X of the *KM* is against such attitudes of spiritualization of the physical asceticism. From his teachings, we can infer that some of the members who considered themselves superior and spiritually enlightened created problems for the ecclesiastical authorities just as the Messalians did. Even though the author never mentioned Messalians by name, he condemns this attitude of proud elitism separating themselves from their inferiors. Such a growing tendency within the author's community may be the reason behind the emphasis on the necessity of the visible Church and its Sacraments. Thus, the *KM* takes a stance contrary to Messalian practices.

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pu naître de cette mystique de l'Espirit, qui était celle de la grande Eglise», A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 322.

[421] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Syriac Tradition», 206. Brock says: «it seems preferable to see these texts as the product of charismatic communities out of which Messalian tendencies were liable at times to emerge», ID., *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 42.

[422] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 180-183. See section 3.2 of this Chapter.

[423] Cf. PS III, 285-304(12,1-7).

3.6.6 Proof from the Text and the MS tradition

The *KM* being a spiritual literature from the Syriac milieu differs from those works of the same circle. Usually, they praise rigorous ascetical practices and glorify the higher levels of spiritual growth. But the *KM*, without any hesitation, criticises the Perfect ones on some occasions and encourages the attempts and accomplishments of the Upright, the lower ones. R.A. Kitchen considered it as a response to alleged Messalianism, a long-time challenge to the Orthodoxy of the work[424]. The anonymous editor of the Syriac work, impressed by this excellent work, suggested that its author could have been «one of the last disciples of the Apostles»[425]. This opinion can be considered as the reaction of a Syriac reader belonging to an ordinary group of Christians from the Syriac milieu. For him, there is nothing strange or unusual or heretical in the text[426]. While observing the MS tradition it is notable that the treatises of the *Book of Steps* were later easily ascribed to authors who enjoyed a good ecclesiastical reputation and it circulated in almost all Syriac ecclesial traditions[427]. In the light of these observations it is right to affirm the conclusion made by A. Vööbus: «There is not only nothing of the doctrines and views ascribed to the Messalian movement but positively the document unfolds such a theological structure which leaves no room for the Messalian teachings»[428]. Later R.A. Kitchen went ahead to present it is as an anti-Messalian text accepting the fact that they shared the common milieu. For him «the *Liber Graduum* assumes an anti-messalian agenda. So here is a book that provides both an unwitting source for the messalian trajectory, while at the same time rejecting vehemently the legitimacy of any such distorted practices»[429].

In short the Messalian accusation on the *KM* is quite unfortunate and can be viewed as the result of entering into this document without understanding its categories. A. Vööbus reminds the readers about their obligation to realize and accept that «the work itself is of another order, one of the oldest monuments of Syriac literature, and it should be restored to

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[424] R.A. KITCHEN, «Becoming Perfect», 30.

[425] Cf. PS III, 1^{7-8}. It is already seen about the hypothesis of the modern scholar Smith that the editor is the author himself. See f.no. 31 in this Chapter.

[426] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 113.

[427] See section «2.4 The Textual Transmission of the *KM*» of this Chapter.

[428] A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 183.

[429] Cf. *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, tr. R.A. Kitchen – F.G.M. Parmentier, lxi.

the place of honour which belongs to it»[430]. A. Guillaumont, who dedicated three years to study this magnificent work, has the same opinion. He writes that it is erroneous to read this work presuming its Messalian character; instead, it should be studied by itself with an open mind. Only after that effort, may one make any comment regarding its Messalian connection[431].

Conclusion

The general study that we made in this chapter can be considered as an attempt to enter into the *Sitz im Leben* of this complex work. Before focusing on the subject matter, «the Mystery of the Triple Gradated Church», it is needed to travel through the birthplace of the *KM* community — the lands washed by Tigris and Euphrates to tune ourselves into this monumental work. Many previous scholars, especially A. Vööbus pointed out the necessity of such efforts before making a serious study of it.

> The document radiates some thoughts and ideas which are strange to the student who reads it with eyes accustomed to standards of Western Christianity... In studying these texts one has not to forget that here we are in the midst of the milieu of the Syrian Orient, for the measurement of which the standards of Western thought simply do not apply. But regardless of this, the peculiar features in their profile were views and practices which were at home in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates[432].

This Chapter provided a *résumé* and a brief discussion of the previous scholarship. Then we undertook the structural analysis of the Kmosko edition and a brief study of its MSS with the intention to become familiar with our basic source text and the route of its transmission through the centuries. After the attempt to recreate the story of the «cradle» of the *KM* community, we should be ready to accept that many historical facts about the *KM* are still vague. Nevertheless, by viewing the work from different angles, we are now in a position to infer many facts. This huge and complex work was composed or compiled during the last decades of 4th or the very beginning of 5th cent. Since it took several years for its formation, the work reflects fluctuations and change in its attitudes in various realms like the mentality of the author and the community, their political and ecclesial context, the nature of ascetical way of life, *etc*. We tried our best to understand the background of conflicts and the aspirations of that

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[430] A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 2.
[431] Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 311.
[432] A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 183.

community reflected in the work. A brief study of the biblical canon used by the author is also undertaken to grasp his exegetical mind. The reasons for its messalian allegation, a long-time challenge to the Orthodoxy of the work are also studied giving ample space. After these attempts to study its context, it is possible to say that the author is somebody who had the responsibility of guiding the Church, may be a pastor. His exhortations were addressed to a community of faithful, «a local Church», who struggled much due to various political, ecclesiastical and dogmatic reasons, to keep themselves on the right way to Perfection. Thus, this document can be considered as the outcome of an ascetically oriented believing community who spent much time reflecting on who they were and what they should do. As R.A. Kitchen says, it is «not a mere tranquil treatise on the structures of the spiritual life, but a book set in the midst of controversy and conflict, designed to ignite a spiritual revival or reformation»[433].

In fact, the central theme of the work may have evolved from the ascetical and spiritual mystical context of 4th / 5th cent. Syriac Church, but it has a perennial value for all generations belonging to any tradition of Christianity. The numerous MSS spread among different ecclesial traditions of Syriac Church shows its wide acceptability and origin before the division happened among them in 5th cent. It is also notable that this anonymous work was considered worthy enough to be attributed to many renowned «Fathers» like Evagrius Ponticus (†399 AD), Eusebius of Caesarea († 339 AD), *et. al.*

Actually, the *KM* is addressed to the ordinary believers of all generations of the Church. This community is included with people at different spiritual levels: nominal Christians (below the state of Uprightness), active participants of ecclesial activities who are trying to manifest the merciful face of God through the charitable works (the Upright), the Religious (among whom there may be frauds), clerics, mystics, saints, *et al*. In any believing community, there are persons corresponding to the «Perfect» and the «Upright» — the main groups mentioned in the *KM.* Certain tendencies to spiritualize the institutional systems and disputes between ascetics and clerics are there even now among the believers. More than that, a close self-examination will help us to see all these states and tendencies in one's own life at different stages of one's spiritual journey. This awareness is the key to entering into the author's unique presentation of the 'Triple gradated

[433] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 220.

Church' about which we shall make a study in the following chapter. In short, the content of the *KM* is not an utopian ideal born from an ascetically oriented fanatic mind which has nothing to do with the present Church. Its message has its relevance for any 'living community of believers' and we must be ready to learn from, and understand the mind of the author, and to develop the skill to interpret this ancient patristic piece.

Chapter II

The Triple Gradated Realities in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*

Introduction

After the studies in the first chapter to place the *KM* in history and to prepare ourselves for the analysis of the text with sufficient knowledge about its context, now in this chapter the focus shall be on the common style of the author to present grades in various realms like 'commandments', 'food', 'faithful', 'Church', *etc*. In the *KM* usually bipartite grades are proposed. Immediately when the author speaks about the Church, he uses a triple gradation in a clear way. It creates a curiosity in any reader. Why so? That curiosity invites us to read the whole work closely to see what the real intention behind the view of a «triple gradated Church» is. Since the concept of the Church at three levels is given to a community of faithful, *i.e.* to a «living Church», there arise many questions: Why is such a teaching given to that Church? From where does the author receive such a concept of gradation, especially a triple gradation? Is it symbolic language to convey certain message or does he really want to present sharp distinctions that exist in this created world? This chapter is a general study on different gradated realities presented in the *KM* to see whether they had any relation to the subject matter of the dissertation, the «triple gradated Church».

1. The Triple Gradated Realities in the *KM*

It is an undeniable truth that there exists diversity and gradation in various realms of our day to day life. The author seems as if he is perplexed by them. A series of questions are presented in the *KM* those express this perplexity[1]. The first *mēmrā* states this clearly:

> We also do not understand how, by the Paraclete, one person 'grows more than' another nor why by eating 'vegetables' one sick person is healed more effectively than another, nor why by 'milk' one child becomes more beautiful than other, nor why one person is blessed more than the other when keeping the commandments that have been given to everyone[2].

This gradated nature is not something peripheral but structural, and it penetrates all aspects of Christian life, including exegesis, sacraments, charismatic gifts, ecclesiology, and eschatology[3]. Let us see the main categories of such grades.

1.1 *At the Level of the Spiritual Growth*

The main interest of the author lies in the search for perfection. He is sure about the fact that the salvation achieved through Our Lord is for everybody and all have the potency to attain this perfection. If so, what is the merit of those who dedicated their life to follow Our Lord more closely through radical renunciation? Here the *KM* suggests a gradated experience. He says: «We do not understand what Our Lord meant when he said 'In my Father's house (ܒܝܬ ܐܒܝ) there are many places (ܡܥܘܢܬܐ)»[4]. Based on these words of Our Lord the *KM* says that each one will deserve his place according to his level of perfection.

The *KM* presents this pursuit of perfection as an organic growth or as a journey with two major 'defined' stages, the «Perfection (ܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ / *gmīrūtā*» and the «Uprightness (ܟܝܢܘܬܐ / *kēnūtā*)». These two stages become the point of reference in all other discussions. In addition to these two stages, without defining under a technical term, the author tries to 'describe' a third significant stage *i.e.* a stage beyond *gmīrūtā* which also

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[1] Cf. PS III, 16^{15}-17^{20}(1,2-3).

[2] PS III, 17^{9-15}(1,3):
ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܒܡܐ ܐܬ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܟܠ ܒܩܠ

deserves a place in our discussions. In short the *KM* presents a kind of triple gradated way towards perfection, *viz*., *kēnūtā*[5], *gmīrūtā*[6], and the possibility to grow beyond *gmīrūtā* (ܟܡܝܪܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܕܢ)[7].

1.1.1 The Perfection (ܟܡܝܪܘܬܐ)

In the *KM*, the commonly found Syriac terms for the 'Perfection' and the 'Perfect' are ܟܡܝܪܘܬܐ / *gmīrūtā* and ܟܡܝܪ / *gmīrā* respectively. They derive from the root ܓܡܪ which means 'to perfect', 'to finish', 'to accomplish', 'to cause', 'to become', *etc*. In addition to the meaning 'perfection', *gmīrūtā* has the sense of 'completeness' or 'full growth'[8]. Let us analyze briefly its biblical usage. In the Syriac OT — which is translated from Hebrew — we could not find any background for this usage. The word τέλειος found in *Septuagint* for 'perfect' is given there as ܫܠܡ — from the root ܫܠܡ — not ܟܡܝܪ[9]. But we have τέλειος as *gmīrā* in *Old Syriac* and in NT *Peshitta*. The use of the word *gmīrā* in the exhortation to become perfect like the Heavenly Father found in Matt 5:48: « ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܟܡܝܪ ܐܒܘܟܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܓܡܪ ܟܡܥܕܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ» and again its presence in the teaching on the radical renunciation as its requirement in Matt 19:21: «ܐܢ ܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܓܡܪ ܠܟ ܘܙܒܢ ܠܡܣܟܝܢ» surely paved the way for the author to whom it became a keyword. There are also significant usages of this word in different Lettters of Paul and in the Letter to the Hebrews which may have influenced the *KM* in multiple ways[10]. The derivations of the root ܓܠܡ[11] and ܟܠܐ[12] are also found in the *KM* for

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[5] Cf. PS III, 12^{4}(1,1), $17^{21.22.24}$ (1,3-4), *etc*. For the complete references of its usage in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 1017.

[6] Cf. PS III, 12^{4}(1,1), $17^{21.22.24}$ (1,3-4), *etc*. We have plenty of occasions of its usage in the *KM*. For the references, cf. PS III, 966.

[7] Cf. PS III, 140^{2}(6,1), 144^{26}(6,2).

[8] Payne Smith, 72; Brock-Kiraz, 26, Sokoloff, 241.

[9] Cf. Gen 6:9; Deut 18:13. In the *KM* different forms of the root «ܫܠܡ» are there to refer to innocence, cf. Payne Smith, 614; PS III, 100^{13}(5,1); 620^{21}(21,13); 621^{11}(21,14); 781^{17}(27,7); 864^{17}(30,2).

[10] For a brief analysis of this term and its significance in the *KM*, cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 39-40; S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 77-83; R.A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection*, 7-11.

[11] The word ܓܠܡ means 'whole', 'entire', 'perfect', 'full', 'complete', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 582. In the *KM* have the term ܡܥܠܡܢܐ from ܓܠܡ, cf. PS III, $196^{7.23}$(8,3-4); 800^{14}(28,8), *etc*.

indicating the idea of perfection. But the technical term for the «Perfection» as a state of life is *gmīrūtā* itself.

R. A. Kitchen presents *gmīrūtā* as a term «possessing the nuances of a state of moral fulfilment in the Eschaton, as well as full human maturity in this world»[13]. For L. Wickham, *gmīrā* means 'fully matured' rather than the 'Perfect'[14]. The 'Perfect' (ܓܡܝܪܐ / *gmīrē*) are the main addressees of the *KM*. Many exhortations of this work are directed to them. The *KM* presents the quest for this state as a response to the exhortation of Our Lord «You must be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect»[15]. Who are «the Perfect»? And what is intended by the state of «Perfection» by the author? The following sections deal with author's vision of the «Perfection». He tries to define this state through many angles.

a) *The Perfection: The Original State of Man*

The «Perfection (*gmīrūtā*)» is primarily depicted as the 'proto-state' of a man intended by the Creator, *i.e.* the original state in which Adam was created[16]. This original state is equated with the perfection of the heavenly angels[17]. Like angels, the first parents enjoyed heavenly bliss. For giving a support for man's accessibility of heavenly things, the *KM* says that the first man, while in Paradise was allowed to eat of the trees of Paradise above heaven[18]. What are the characteristics of that proto-state in which man enjoyed both heavenly and earthly spheres?

+ A Mind Clothed with Glory

Adam in his original state[19] was adorned with 'glory'. The syriac word for glory, ܫܘܒܚܐ derives from the root ܫܒܚ which means 'to praise', 'to

[12] The verb ܚܠܐ also gives a sense of 'full', cf. Payne Smith, 274. The word ܡܫܚܠܝܢܐ derived from ܚܠܐ is also used in the *KM* as an adjective, cf. PS III, 4^{7}; 101^{1}(5,1); 408^{24}(16,10); 837^{6}(29,10).

[13] R.A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection*, 11.

[14] It is already mentioned that he suggested the original title of the work as «On the mode of life of 'full maturity' and the 'discrimination of Our Lord's commandments'» drawing from the manuscript tradition. See Chap. I, section «2.2 The Title».

[15] Cf. Matt 5:48; PS III, 64^{14-15}(3,9).

[16] Cf. PS III, 17^{23-24}(1,4).

[17] Cf. PS III, 229^{18-19}(9,12).

[18] Cf. PS III, 37^{12-16}(2,6).

[19] For a detailed study of this state, cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 50-91.

glorify', 'to proclaim', *etc.*[20] The 'glory' (ܫܘܒܚܐ) of Adam, who was with the angels, is mentioned in the *KM* several times[21]. It is interesting to note that for the author of the *KM*, man was clothed by the 'garment of glory'[22] not on his body but on his mind.

> God first commanded Adam to become a perfect saint (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܬܪܟ), just like watchers and angels in heaven, so that while standing in body on the earth (ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ), being stripped of everything in it, he might dwell spiritually in heaven (ܒܪܘܚܐ ܥܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܢܬܐ) with the angels while his mind is clothed with the glory of his creator (ܡܬܠܒܫ ܫܘܒܚܐ) and the earth is not seen by him[23].

In this attribute of Adam, A. Kowalski sees the responsibility of the humanity in its original state is to praise the Lord without any interruption, just as the angels do.

> la gloria (ܫܘܒܚܐ) di Adamo va collegata con l'etimologia della parola, che indica l'atto di lodare. La vita umana secondo il progetto primitivo di Dio era uguale e quella degli esseri celesti e non si accordava con il lavoro e con la preoccupazione per le cose materiali, perché non permettono di lodare (verbo ܫܒܚ) interrottamente Dio[24].

There is a supporting text in the *KM*. «God in fact wanted these things to be in this way; wanted 'all humanity' (ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ) to praise him (ܢܫܒܚܘܗܝ) without having to work. It would have been so if Adam had only remained straight»[25]. One's 'mind clothed by the glory of his creator' (ܡܬܠܒܫ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܪܗ ܕܥܩܠ) is intended to be a mind immersed in the unceasing praise of God[26]. For our author the 'Perfect of today' (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܘܡܢܐ) also enjoy the same glory of Adam[27].

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[20] Cf. Sokoloff, 1501.

[21] Cf. PS III, 589^{1-3}(21,2); 613^{6-7}(21,10).

[22] The theme of the «garment of glory» possess a wide range significance in early syriac fathers about which we discuss in the following chapter. See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 a) + The Robe of Glory».

[23] PS III, 588^{22}-589^{3}(21,2):
ܘܒܥܕܬ ܟܝܠܡܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܬܪܟ ܐܢܫ ܟܠ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܓܘ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܗ ܕܦܫܛ ܠܗ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܥܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܢܬܐ ܘܡܬܠܒܫ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܪܗ ܕܥܩܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ

[24] A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 54.

[25] PS III, 80^{19-21}(3,15).

[26] Those who are continually praise the Lord will be provided with everything, cf. PS III, 80^{16-18}(3,15).

[27] Cf. PS III, 804^{8-11}(28,11).

+ Free of Earthly Passions

Adam in his proto-state is adorned with many gifts when compared with other creatures. He had 'honour'(ܝܩܪ)[28] and 'splendor' (ܫܘܒܚܐ)[29] and was not like other terrestrial creatures. He enjoyed 'freedom' (ܚܐܪܘܬܐ) and 'choice' (ܒܥܝܪ)[30]. Nevertheless, he never had any desire for dominating this world and to have its possessions. Adam executed his power over this creation only as 'an administrator on behalf of God'. It is clearly stated as «the hand of the Lord was on Adam and the hand of Adam tamed all there was on the earth beneath him by the power of our omnipotent Lord. They were created without any earthly passions...»[31]. The *KM* narrated the disposition of this detachment from the world through many symbolic and metaphorical expressions like purity, holiness, angelic state, nakedness *etc*.

+ A State of Purity (ܙܟܘܝܘܬܐ)

Many verses are there to affirm that God created Adam in 'purity' (ܙܟܘܝܘܬܐ / *dakyūtā*)[32] and before his fall he kept that 'purity of heart' (ܙܟܘܝܘܬ ܠܒܐ)[33]. What is this *dakyūtā* for our author? He describes it as the absence

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[28] It derives from the root ܝܩܪ which means 'honour', 'glory', 'magnificence', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 14. In addition to these, in Sokoloff we can see other meanings like 'consecration' and 'dedication', cf. Sokoloff, 38. This term is used in the *KM* as a reference of Ps 49:12.21, cf. PS III, 337[19-26](15,2); 613[15-19](21,10); 760[16-19](26,2). In *Ibid*., 337[22-23](15,2), even we have a direct citation of Ps 49:12 as: «That is why David said, 'A person who has not taken notice of 'his honour' (ܝܩܪܗ)».

[29] Its root ܫܒܚ means, 'to be beautiful', 'to please', 'to seem good', *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1592. The *KM* speaks about the lost beauty of Adam in PS III, 632[14-16](21,20): «Adam longed for the lower beauty and deprived himself of the heavenly (ܒܥܐ ܠܫܘܒܚܐ ܬܚܬܝܐ ܘܫܠܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܥܠܝܐ)».

[30] PS III, 604[17-18.25-26](21,8):

ܚܐܪܘܬܐ ܒܪܚܡܘܗܝ ܠܗ ܘܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܐ... ܒܥܝܪ ܚܐܪܘܬܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܠܥܙܪܐ ܘܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ.

«Through his grace and kindness God gave them freedom and choice… however God gave Adam freedom and established for him a law for the aid of his soul». See one more reference in PS III, 157[11-12](7,5): «He gave them the freedom to do their will (ܘܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܚܐܪܘܬܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܗ)».

[31] PS III, 604[9-13](21,7):

ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܐܕܡ ܘܐܝܕ ܐܕܡ ܟܒܫ ܟܠ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܬܚܝܗ ... ܒܚܝܠ ܓܒܘܪܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܢ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ

[32] Cf. PS III, 341[24](15,3); 593[1](21,3); 693[5](23,1).

[33] Cf. PS III, 340[21](15,3); 529[2](20,1); 581[5](20,17); 920[3-4](30,24).

of 'sin' (ܚܛܝܬܐ)[34] and 'lust'(ܪܓܓܐ)[35]. In a different context while speaking about the 'Upright' the *KM* says that they never purified themselves from the preoccupations of this world[36]. In short the *dakyūtā* is not exclusively related to sex, but a state in which man is free from every anxiety related to this world; and which helps him enjoy a double citizenship. We can see the idea in an explicit way in the *KM* as: «Creator commanded Adam, your mind being in heaven as an inhabitant[37], but your body being on earth as a stranger and a sojourner. Above, serve and glorify by these deeds as a watcher among watchers»[38]. Hence the *dakyūtā* can be considered as a state which enables a man to penetrate this visible world and its firmament to see the divine realities.

+ A State of Holiness (ܩܕܫܬܐ)

The 'holiness' (ܩܕܫܬܐ / *qaddīšūṯā*) of Adam at his creation is a repeatedly mentioned theme and it deserves our next attention. Its root ܩܕܫ in its *Pael* form means 'to sanctify', 'to consecrate', 'to set apart for holy use', *etc.*[39] It was God's commandment that Adam should be a «perfect holy man' (ܓܒܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[40]. Before the fall, the first parents were «holy in their heart and in their bodies (ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܘܒܦܓܪܗܘܢ)»[41]. We have many references in the *KM* about this holiness that man has lost due to his sin[42]. The holiness of the first creation of Adam[43] is the same holiness in which the angels are created[44]. While thinking about the common factor in

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[34] Cf. PS III, 529^{2-3}(20,1); 920^{3-5}(30,24).

[35] Cf. PS III, 340^{20-21}(15,3).

[36] PS III, 541^{9-10}(20,6): ܠܐ ܐܬܛܗܪ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܘܬ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܛܪܚܐ ܘܡܢ ܢܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܓܒܪܢܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ

«Their heart was not purified from anxiety, toil and marriage».

[37] The capacity of the mind to dwell in heaven is a frequent theme in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 608^{16-17}(21,8).

[38] PS III, 592^{7-11}(21,3):

ܐܬܒܢܝ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ

them which enabled them to share the same holiness, the exegesis of the author given in the first chapters of the Book of Genesis becomes relevant. The author used many themes, terms and episodes from the Book of Genesis, but excluded an important verse, *i.e.* Gen 1:27[a] where it is mentioned that 'God created man in His image'. But the allusion to the second part Gen 1:27[b] «He created male and female (ܕܟܪܐ ܘܢܩܒܐ ܒܪܝܗ)» is there in the *KM*[45]. The author never spoke anything about man as in the 'image of God'. For him, Adam is created in the 'image of angels'(ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ) of the heaven[46]. In the reason behind such an association the *qaddīšūṯā* plays a major role. It is traditionally believed that the angels have no lust, and hence they are enjoying *qaddīšūṯā*. Since man in his proto-state shared the same status of being without lust, it is right to associate him with the heavenly angels[47]. But the sense of *qaddīšūṯā* can never be limited to the physical virginity. The exact word for virginity, 'ܒܬܘܠܝܘܬܐ' is used only once as associated with Adam and Eve[48]. That means *qaddīšūṯā* carries a wider significance.

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[45] PS III, 352^{11}(15,7).

[46] See relevant passages: 1) PS III, 920^{1-6}(30,24): «Because people fell short of the Perfection (ܫܠܡܘܬܐ) through which God created Adam and the purity of heart (ܕܟܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ) that belonged to Adam while he had not yet sinned, and the holiness (ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ) in which he was created in the image of the angel (ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ)». 2) *Ibid*., 344^{22}-345^{2}(15,4): «But if a person does not adopt the image of the angels (ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ) — who do not have fleshly desires (ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܐܘܒܬܐ) and carnal lust (ܬܐܘܒܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ) — in this world, he will not become like them in that world».

[47] Cf. PS III, $344^{12-13.23-24}$(15,4); 345^{7-8}(15,5); 352^{10-15}(15,7); 601^{14-19}(21,7). In the *KM*, the desire for intercourse, *i.e*. the sexuality, is not part of the original human nature, but out of compassion God allowed it to fallen humanity. By using the book of Genesis, it presents Adam and Eve as virgins in Paradise and sexuality as the characteristic of fallen world. For supporting this fact, the *KM* presents Adam and Eve before the fall as nude children. It is written, that Adam and Eve were naked, but they could not see their own 'nakedness' (ܥܪܛܘܬܐ), *i.e.* like 'infants' (ܛܠܝܢܐ) who are bare and do not know what nakedness is. Once they had sinned, and sin existed in their heart, directing them to desire 'intercourse' (ܬܐܘܒܬܐ), they saw they were naked. In *Ibid*., 340^{24-26}(15,3) we read that, «On account of this Our Lord said: «If you do not turn back and become like these children, you will not become like first creation of Adam (ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܕܡ)». Here the author took Matt 18:3 and combined it with Gen 2:25 and 3:7 in a way to make clear his argument. For him, being like children who are bare and do not know what nakedness is, nothing but being free of lust, cf. *Ibid*., 340^{12-15}(15,3); 341^{4-7}(15,3).

[48] Cf. PS III, 761^{12}(26,3).

The word *qaddīšūṯā* has a technical meaning in Syriac monastic tradition[49]. A ܩܕܝܫܐ / *qaddīšā* is a married person who abstains from sexual intercourse and *qaddīšūṯā* is the abstinence from marital intercourse with an intention to follow Our Lord more closely. It can be a temporary or a permanent state[50]. In the *KM*, this technical meaning is not really valid for the state of *gmīrūtā* of Adam[51]. The *KM* presents Adam and Eve in a state in which they never had any sexual desire[52] and hence no need to renounce the sexual relationship. It is already said that the *KM* presents the 'nudity' of Adam and Eve in a positive way as a sign of their holiness[53]. In their primitive state, it was their mind that was clothed with the glory of their creator and they never bothered about a dress to cover their nude body[54]. Even though the first Parents were presented as those who never experienced any sexual desires, the *KM* never intended an absence of sexual difference in them. It is not possible to see any androgynous doctrine — considering Adam as both male and female — in the *KM* [55]. It

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[49] For a study on this concept in East Syriac writers, cf. A. VACHIPURA, *The Notion of Holiness*, 8-57.

[50] For a brief but relevant description, cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 110-111; A. VANCHIPURA, *The Notion of Holiness*, 33-36.

[51] Being from the last decades of 4th or the first decades of 5th cent., the author of the *KM* is surely aware of this technical usage. But he never used this sense in the case of Adam to describe the state of *gmīrūtā*. Nevertheless he applied this sense *i.e.* the renunciation of sexual relationship of marriage in very rare cases, to refer those who pursued the *gmīrūtā*, cf. PS III, 244[7](9,19); 313[20-22](13,4); 384[13-14](15,19); 804[26-27](28,11), *etc.*

[52] For the author, sexual reproduction is man's choice which later got approval of God, but if he did not choose that way, it would be God's responsibility to provide humanity an appropriate way to multiply and to keep the generations. See PS III, 602[17-19](21,7): «if he had wanted he could have made children by the hairs of their heads or by their finger nails, and the people would have become the images of angels (ܐܟܣܢܝ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ)». From his explanation we feel about his suggestion as somewhat similar to cloning or grafting. In short, according to our author, God originally intended an «asexual way of reproduction». Here Eve's birth from the side of Adam is put forward as an example of such a possibility. Eve is presented as Adam's daughter. See *Ibid.*, 740[1-2] (25,3): «If all people desire to become holy, I would create for them children just as I made a daughter for Adam from himself, without marriage and without lust (ܐܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܒܪܝ)». Even the genital organs were indented by God for man's excretion and not for intercourse, cf. *Ibid.*, 349[15-18.23-24](15,6-7).

[53] See f.no. 47 of this Chapter.

[54] Cf. PS III, 600[25](21,7).

[55] In ancient Syriac as well as Judaic literature, we can see such traditions holding the transcendence of sexual differentiation for holding the unity of human being. They

accepts the existence of two sexes but in a neutral state. See the following passage as its evidence.

> If you say why did he make masculine and feminine? Are you going to blame him because he created male and female? He will respond to you, in no way does it harm you, if you do not desire to become like beasts nor like the angels[56].

For the author of the *KM*, Adam desired intercourse as a result of the 'teaching of the evil one' (ܬܘܕܥܬ ܒܝܫܐ) who had plotted to make him fall from the 'holiness of angels' (ܩܕܝܫܘܬ ܡܠܐܟܐ) and imitate wild beasts[57]. Seeing that Adam fell from the initial Perfection, out of compassion God allowed him to enter into marriage to save him from any further destruction[58]. In the *KM*, the marriage is intended only for the Upright. The author knows well that there are many scriptural passages which support marriage and sexual relations[59]. Hence, keeping his preference for *qaddīšūṯā* as a criterion for the state of «Perfection» he tries to reconcile

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appeared either as speculations at the creation account or as eschatological doctrines. Many NT passages supported them. In resurrection there exists no marriage, but one will be like angels of heaven (cf. Matt 22:30); Paul's words that in Christ no more male and female (cf. Gal 3:28); the eunuchs for the kingdom of God (cf. Matt 19:2); thoughts of Immanent Parusia (cf. 1Cor 7:39), *etc*., fostered the spread of androgynous doctrine. Murray synthesized these tendencies as: «there was a constant interplay and mutual influence of speculations about Adam in Paradise and the Eschatological fulfilment, so that it is only to be expected that we should find, not merely a belief that sexuality will become irrelevant, but a doctrine that somehow the female will be absorbed in the male, in an ultimate return to the original androgynous unity», R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 303. Even in 4th cent. Syriac authors we can see these tendencies. It is evident in Aphrahat even though he supports the ordinary use of marriage. See PS I, 1017[3-8](XXII,13):

ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܪ ܘܢܩܒ ܘܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܪ ܘܢܩܒ ܐܠܐ ܕܟܪ ܘܢܩܒ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܫ

with these scriptural passages by putting all of them as minor laws for the Upright group. At the same time it is also notable that the author presents *qaddīšūṯā* as a character of both the «Perfect (*gmīrē*)» and the «Upright (*kēnē*)» and hence he speaks about its possibility of gradation. *Qaddīšūṯā* of the Upright is depicted as partial. It is written that: «*kēnē* are sanctified (ܡܕܡܥܒܝ) from the evil of the earth, not from its possession, its benefits, or its fellowship»[60]. In short the anonymous author gives a deeper sense for the term *qaddīšūṯā* and does not limit it as the abstinence of sexual relationship. For him it is an integral blissful state of one who is 'set apart' (ܡܕܥ), in which there existed no desire for anything worldly. It is that proto-state in which the original man was 'set apart' from worldly things by being in Paradise[61].

+ An Angelic State

It is seen in the above sections that Adam in his proto-state was similar to angels. In the *KM*, two words 'messenger' (ܡܠܐܟܐ)[62] or 'watcher' (ܥܝܪܐ)[63] are used for an angel. They are used almost as synonyms[64]. The similarities between Adam in his proto-state and an angel is already noted. The author speaks about the 'intimacy' (ܣܗܝܪܘܬܐ) and 'love' (ܚܘܒܐ) between angels and men[65]. Adam and Eve lived in communion with angels, protected by them[66] and shared the 'heavenly bread (ܠܚܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ), *i.e.* the 'bread of the angels' (ܠܚܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ)[67]. In the 'height' Adam was immersed in the service as an angel among the angels.

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[60] PS III, 324^{11}-325^{2}(14,1):

ܡܫܟܚܬܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܫܡ ܕܡ ܠܐ ܡܢܟܣ ܡܫܒ ܕܡ ܕܥܒ ܕܡ ܡܕܡܥܒ ܕܝܢ

[61] Kowalski agrees with it. He says: «Mentre nella terminologia siriaca della santità si esprime l'idea del sacro incompatibile con la sessualità, per il nostro autore il sacro cioè la vita paradisiaca, celeste ed angelica (condotta alla presenza di Dio, il Santo per eccellenza), non si accorda in pari modo con il posesso delle cose terrene…La renuncia totale è una piena santità. Esssa contiene l'astinenza sessuale…, ma non si limita ad essa», A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 62-63.

[62] Cf. Sokoloff, 764.

[63] Its root «ܥܝܪ» means 'to be awake', 'to arouse', *etc.*, cf. Sokoloff, 1098.

[64] For brief studies on these two terms, cf. R. MURRAY, «Aramaic 'îr, Angel», 303-317; ID., «Early Syriac Angelology», 143-154. Adam's similarity with angels is not unique to the *KM*. Many apocryphals and rabbinic literature shared this theme. For details, cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 85-86.

[65] Cf. PS III, 613^{17-19}(21,10).

[66] Cf. PS III, 613^{12-15}(21,10).

[67] Cf. Ps 78:25; PS III, 600^{24}-601^{3}(21,7).

The creator commanded Adam, «your mind being in heaven as an inhabitant, but your body being on earth as a stranger and a sojourner. Above (ܠܥܠ)[68] serve and glorify by these deeds as a watcher among watchers»[69]. This similarity with the 'watchers' never negated their corporality. As seen already, Adam and Eve were not purely spiritual like angels. They participated in heavenly service through their mind, but their body was on earth. That means they enjoyed a double citizenship.

If the Perfect of today follow Jesus' commandment in its fullest sense, they have the potential to become «like the angels» who «do not cultivate the earth» and whose minds remain fixed not on earth, but with the Word of Our Lord» and who are never «anxious» for their food, because Our Lord is concerned for them[70]. The 'immortality' of the angels and the Perfect as worthy of 'resurrection'[71] are there to make this association strong[72]. They are obliged to praise God the whole day[73] in a perpetual cycle of fasts, psalms, vigils, and prayers. Based on this thought, less importance was given to physical work in Syrian monasticism compared to Egyptian monasticism[74]. The Perfect keep away from physical labour because it was only after Adam's transgression that the need for physical labour and anxieties arise. Before that, God always protected them and they felt no need to worry about anything. Now, God's concern for the Perfect was manifested on earth mostly through the charity provided by the Upright[75]. This premise is closely bound to the Syro-Mesopotamian tradition of providing maintenance for the ascetic group the «Sons and Daughters of the Covenant»[76]. In this way, they recapture the angelic

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[68] The expression «above (ܠܥܠ)» can be considered as a term used to indicate «heaven» where the future abode of *gmīrē* is placed which is represented by various expressions like, the 'heavenly Church', the 'City of God', *etc*. For a detailed study, see Chap. IV, section «3.1.1 The Triple Gradated Jerusalem».

[69] Cf. PS III, $800^{15\text{-}20}$(28,9).

[70] PS III, $752^{6\text{-}22}$(25,8).

[71] Cf. Luke 20:35-36.

[72] Cf. PS III, $752^{1\text{-}3}$(25,8).

[73] PS III, $185^{2\text{-}3.6\text{-}8}$(7,20):

ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ... ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܨܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܢ ܕܠܥܠ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܝܢ

«The Perfect praise (God) the whole day… the Perfect perform their rites all their days and pray unceasingly before our God».

[74] Cf. J. THUNDATHIL, «Egyptian and Syrian Monastic Traditions», 125.

[75] Cf. PS III, $737^{13\text{-}18}$(25,3).

[76] Cf. D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 114.

freedom that Adam had before his fall - a stage when he rejoiced with heavenly angels, without any anxieties where God fed him and he had eaten 'heavenly bread' (ܠܚܡܐ ܕܥܦܪܐ), *i.e.* the ' bread of the angels' (ܠܚܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ)[77].

In short the *gmīrūtā* is the original state of man who is pure and holy like angels and has a mind clothed with the glory of God through which he enjoys the power to penetrate the visibility of this world. The author wants to say that in this proto-state, while being physically on earth man can be in perfect union with God without any distractions. Hence, he tries to recreate the nature of proto-humanity which he calls *gmīrūtā* as, a state of detachment from every terrestrial inclinations. The author presents this ideal using several ascetical terms of renunciation[78]. Many of them are technical vocabularies familiar to the the *KM* community about which we shall study in a later section in this chapter[79].

b) *The Perfection: The State of the Incarnated Christ*

The Perfection, *i.e. gmīrūtā* is presented in the *KM* as the proto-state of humanity. The first parents lost that blessed state because of their sin. The author again depicts this proto-state as the state re-established through the incarnation of Christ. It is already seen that in the proto-state of humanity, man was in the 'image of angels' (ܕܡܝܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ) of the heaven. However, in the *mēmrā* XVII, there is an exhortation of the author to follow the «image of Our Lord»[80]. Again in a later passage the *KM* presents the direct words of God about His plan to put on the image of Adam. God told to Adam that «I will clothe your image»[81]. Since for the author, the Lord is born in the image of Adam in the proto-state[82] there exists no

[77] Cf. PS III, 600^{20}-601^{3}(21,6-7).

[78] PS III, 609^{8-18}(21,9):

ܫܚܪ ܒܟ ܡܫܬܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܦܐ ܡܫܬܘܫ ܘܫܘܚ ܘܥܢܘ ܫܦܠ ܡܠܟ
«Evil one counselled. Cast off from yourself asceticism and renunciation and holiness also lowliness».

[79] See this Chapter, section «2. The Thought Behind Gradations».

[80] PS III, 428^{24}(17,8): ܡܫܚܬܐ ܡܠܝ

[81] PS III, 760^{5}(26,1): ܐܫܚܝ ܐܠܒ ܠܟ

[82] The expression «clothing» is mainly used in the Syriac tradition for incarnation. In this context our author's interpretation to the Lord's word «I am the First and I am the Last (ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܝܐ)» is relevant (This verse alludes to Isa 44:6 and Rev 22:13. Since the primitive Syriac canon was without the Book of Revelation author may be quoting from the Book of Isaiah). By using this scriptural verse the author wants to say that the thing that the Lord desired at first is what he also desired at

contradiction. The purpose of the incarnation of Our Lord was to show the people how their initial stage of holiness was.

> Our Lord showed us through His person (ܦܓܪܗ) the Creation of Adam (ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ) and how Adam became like the heavenly angels (ܟܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ) without anger and without lust, and without thoughts and faults. According to that image, Our Lord was born (ܗܘ ܕܝܠܕ ܒܬܪ ,ܡ ܡܪܝ ܝܫܘܥ). For by the imitation of our Adam, Our Lord came in order to show people their first nature how they were created (ܠܡܚܙܝ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ). As the Apostle said, «Everything is made new again (ܟܠܗ ܚܕܬ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ) in Jesus (Eph 1:10)», that is to say, as from the beginning (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ)[83].

There are almost similar expressions or allusions to Eph 1:10 three times in the *KM*[84]. Here the expression ܚܕܬ deserves our attention[85]. A. Kowalski sees in it the role of Christ to demonstrate the primitive state of Adam.

> Con l'espressione «sia da capo rinnovato» (*men d-rêš netḥaddat*) la Pešitta traduce il verbo composto ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι dell'originale greco. L'autore del LG vede nelle parole «da capo» un indicazione dei primordi della umanità. Quindi «rinnovare» significa per lui «ripristinare» e in qualche senso «ripetere» lo stato primitivo di Adamo[86].

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last and hence he clothed Adam's image at his proto-state. Because of this He said: «I am the first and I am the Last, that is my great and perfect will, the first and the last», PS III, 597^{5-9}(21,5).

[83] PS III, 692^{9}-693^{5}(23,1).

[84] PS III, 592^{17-18}(21,3); 701^{14-15}(23,5); 736^{13}(24,2). In all cases the expressions are similar to that of *Peshitta*. «ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܡܗ ܚܕܬ ܒܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܢ ܘܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ».

[85] The word ܚܕܬ means 'from the beginning', 'again', *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1463.

[86] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 110-111. That does not mean that He is only the example, not the saviour.

Thus, Christ's incarnation has a pedagogical purpose to teach everybody about their initial state and to show them, how they can regain that state[87]. So imitation of Christ is proposed as the way to retrieve the lost perfection[88]. M. Kmosko limited himself to these descriptions and misunderstood the role of Christ as a mere teacher rather than a Savior[89]. But it is not the real position of the *KM*. The author is fully aware that the prophets who pursued the Perfection could not be saved without the 'Passion and Cross of the Son' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܚܒܝܐ ܕܒܪܐ)[90]. R. Roux noticed the author's frequent usage of Eph 2:14-16[91] and Col 1:20[92] to speak about the unique salvific action of Christ apart from his teachings[93]. For him «these

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[87] PS III, 736[10-11.14-16](25,2):
ܒܝ ܗܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ .... ܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܟܠܝܠ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܕܒܪܫܝܬ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܘܐܬ ܐܦ ܒܟܠܝܠ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܕܡ.
«He demonstrated clearly through his person the Perfection and the holiness of the first creation of Adam... You see that no person has shown clearly how Adam was created except Jesus through his manners of life».
Ibid., 760[1-5](26,1):
ܐܬܒܪ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬ ܒܚܝ ܘܒܬܪ ܡܝܬܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܚܘܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ...
«I will show all who are living during and after my advent how you were created like the watchers, and how they can arrive at that holy creation in which you were created. I will clothe your image».

[88] Cf. PS III, 416[1]-429[23](17,1-9). But we can't imitate all the deeds of Christ. We have a detailed study on this theme by R. Roux. He analysed all the deeds of Christ narrated by the author and explained which of them are there to imitate under the limits of humanity and which are there to reveal the divine nature of Christ that are beyond any imitation, cf. R. ROUX, «Imitation of Christ», 259-264. Author gives examples for certain harsh acts of Christ which are intended to reveal His identity and not for imitation, cf. PS III, 488[10]-489[6](19,22); 669[17-19](22,14); cf. R. ROUX, «Imitation of Christ», 261-262.

[89] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, LXVI-LXIX.

[90] PS III, 365[8](15,12), cf. *Ibid.*, 364[19-21](15,12). In this context the observation of R. Terzoli is apt. He says «il nostro testo afferma espressamente più volte che prima di Cristo nessuno poté giungere alla perfezione, dunque l'opera di Cristo non può essere intesa come 'buon esempio' in contrapposizione ad efficacia reale». See f.no. 97 in R. TERZOLI, *Beatitudine*, 162, cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 113-114; ID., «Il sangue nel Liber graduum», 1201.

[91] «broke down the wall of hostility»: Cf. PS III, 37[18-21](2,6); 205[10-12](9,2); 216[11-12](9,5); 217[12-13](9,6); 220[26]-221[3](9,7); 229[10-12](9,12); 352[20-22](15,7); 365[8-9](15,12); 573[15-17](20,16); 592[14-16](21,3); 601[12-14](21,7); 736[9-10](25,2); 742[16-17](25,5); 764[6-9](26,4).

[92] «peace through the blood of His Cross»: Cf. PS III, 37[20-21](2,6); 216[16-17](9,6); 236[5-6](9,15); 648[26]-649[1](22,7); 656[17](22,9).

[93] Cf. R.ROUX, «Imitation of Christ», 263.

two Pauline citations fit in with what has been said about the doctrine of the imitation of Christ: on the one hand, because they refer to the humble nature of Christ in its clearest manifestation, the death on the Cross; on the other hand, because this seemingly excessive humility is the cause of the so-called harsh acts of Christ»[94]. The humility that he accepted during His incarnation has a practical scope. He «lowered himself in order to teach them, so that they might revert to their 'first image' (ܨܘܪܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕ) from which they had fallen»[95]. The desire of Adam to be exalted is the cause of his fall; so the remedy is the humility of Christ. The Christological hymn[96] of Phil 2:6-7 joined with the themes of Matt 13:12 and Luke 14:11, is used to interpret the paradox of Adam's pride and Christ's humility. «Whoever exalts himself – like Adam – will be humbled; and whoever humbles himself like Jesus – will be exalted, just as he was exalted»[97]. So imitation of the 'lowliness' (ܡܟܟܘܬܐ) of Christ is demanded to achieve the «Perfection».

c) *The Perfection: The State of Being the Image of the Apostles*

Thirdly, the author narrates the state of Perfection, *i.e. gmīrūtā* in connection with the immediate followers and close imitators of Our Lord, the 'Apostles'. For him, the 'Perfect ones of today' are the 'image of the Apostles' (ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ)[98]. To support this view the author presented the words of 'the Apostle' which alludes to Heb 11:40 that the Lord perfected the Apostles first so that all those who pursued perfection would not be perfected without them[99].

The state of Perfection is a gift of God, but human participation and endurance is also essential. Man is created in the state of perfection and even after his fall he has given the potency to retrieve this initial stage. Since God respects man's freedom, he can plan and choose the ways of that return journey. In other words, man enjoys the right of 'responsible self-formation'. But many times he fails to fulfill it and abandons the state of

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[94] R. ROUX, «Imitation of Christ», 264.

[95] PS III, 712[24-25](23,11):

ܟܠ ܕܢܬܒ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܬܒ ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܛܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܘ ܕ

[96] A. Louf studied this theme, cf. A. LOUF, «Une ancienne exégèse de Phil 2,6», 523-533.

[97] PS III, 617[8-10](21,11).

[98] Cf. PS III, 232[24-25](9,13).

[99] Cf. PS III, 232[20-24](9,13).

Perfection. The *KM* speaks about many OT figures[100] who wished to regain this lost state of Perfection. Great figures like Adam - after his fall, Abraham and Hosea, Melchizedek, Elijah, Elisha, Jacob and Esau, Joseph, Moses, Noah, David, Job, Daniel, Isaac, Jeremiah, Samuel, and Enoch are presented in the *KM* as the typical models who pursued this perfection. They could not achieve it in this world before their departure. Later the incarnated Lord showed humanity the way of return and perfected the OT prophets who pursued the «Perfection» only after He perfected the Apostles. The *KM* clearly says that «the prophets and the first upright ones, those who were perfected after they had departed from this world in the sight of the Apostles, were perfected because they had pursued love and perfection in this world»[101]. But it is their privilege and not applicable to those who live after the coming of Christ. If a person does not walk today in «the footsteps of Our Lord and of His Apostles (ܒܬܪ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܡܪܢ ,ܘܕܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ)»[102], he will not go with the prophets. Our Lord does not perfect him as He did for the prophets[103]. This preference and unique place of the Apostles indicate the vital role of the Church in the pursuit of perfection. It is the major theme of the next chapters.

d) *The Perfection: The State of Being the Brothers of Our Lord*

The possibility of the restoration of the state of 'Perfection', *i.e. gmīrūtā* is one of the main themes of the *KM* and it can be considered as a travelogue for that return journey. It is already seen in the previous sections that Adam at his creation was pure, holy, detached from the world and like an angel dwelt in Paradise. So the return journey demands a radical renunciation for achieving a detachment from the visible world. Hence, from the perspective of the history of Syriac asceticism, the Perfect seems to be the ascetics of the believing community, although we have no good reason to consider them as the institutionalized monks. They do not take the vow of stability, but rather wander around with no permanent domicile[104]. They have the experience of the realized *Eschaton* which

[100] See Chap.I, section «2.7.1 The Old Testament Quotations».

[101] PS III, 232^{26}-233^{3}(9,13):

ܒܬܪ ܕܡ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܒܬܪ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܐܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ

Adam had before his fall[105]. They leave their homes and have no place to rest their heads. They wander around and teach all kinds of people[106]. Many of them are beggars[107]. They are even presented in the *KM* as those who are incapable of performing charity because of their radical renunciation and detachment from the visible world[108]. Despite this, they have a great love for all humanity founded on extreme humility[109]. The author asks them to imitate the 'fools of the world' (ܥܠܡܐ ,ܣܟܠܐ)[110] who treat themselves with contempt[111]. They have to be liberated from all worldly attachments[112]. Voluntary acceptance of such a radical renunciation will make him the 'brother of Our Lord' (ܡܪܢ ,ܐܚܐ), and Jesus is pleased with him more than thousands and ten thousand[113].

Because of their perfect renunciation they are capable to attend those who are in search of the 'knowledge of Our Lord' (ܡܪܢ ܝܕܥܬܐ) and to the salvation and perfection of all people. They are constant in

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[105] Cf. PS III, 596[18-19](21,4); 605[22]-608[4](21,8); A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 92-93; R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 213.

[106] Cf. PS III, 61[10-14](3,8); 893[7-13](30,13).

[107] Cf. PS III, 529[10-12](20,2).

[108] Cf. PS III, 56[8-17](3,6).

[109] PS III, 328[8](14,2):

« ܕܡܫܡܫ ܠܗ ܒܪܚܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܨܠܝ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ (spiritually they serve him loving all people and praying for them)».

[110] PS III, 404[7](16,7).

[111] The 'holy foolery' is an integral part of ascetic tradition goes back at least to Plato. In his *Phdr*. 243e-245c we can see a discussion on 'divine madness' (θεία μανία), cf. PLATO, *Phaedrus*, in J. BRUNET, ed., *Platonis Opera*, 243e-245c; English trans., *Phaedrus*, tr. A. Nehamas – P. Woodruff, 522-523. The 'Holy Fools' are are marked by their detachment from the standards of the world around them, cf. F.J. JESTICE, «Insanity», 396-398; P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, 335. In Syriac Christianity too, such a thought to become fool for Christ and Heaven is strong. Our author asks to imitate a fool who is indifferent to dishonour from people and who loves good and bad people alike, cf. PS III, 404[7-27](16,7).

[112] PS III, 365[26]-368[2](15,13):

ܚܙܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܢܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܒܚܩܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܩܢܝܢ ܩܢܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܦ ܐܒܪ ܕܢܣܬܘܪ ܪܝܫܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܦܢܗܘܢ ❖ ❖ ❖

«The Perfect do not take wives, nor do they work in the field, nor acquire possessions, nor have a place to lay their head on earth like their teacher».

[113] Cf. PS III, 188[2-5] (7,21):

ܡܢ ܕܨܒܐ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܘܢܬܟܡܠ ܗܘ ܐܚܐ ܕܡܪܢ ❖ ❖ ❖

'prayer'(ܩܕܠܐ) and 'supplication' (ܩܕܥܕܐ) and in 'administering God's word' (ܩܡܪܐ ܩܟܪܐ ܩܕܒܪܐ) on behalf of all people. Thus they serve as benefactors to all people and also to themselves, in prayer and in 'counselling' (ܩܕܡܝܟܐ) concerning the 'new life' (ܩܝܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ)[114] and they receive the 'greatest of all gifts' (ܡܬܬܗ ܕܠ ܡܕ ܕܟܝ), the full blessing which is called the 'Spirit' (ܪܘܚܐ), the 'Paraclete' (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ)[115]. Thus, they will become perfect as their Father in Heaven is Perfect[116] and will try, like the Apostle Paul, to make all people perfect in Christ by the energy which works in them through the power of the Lord[117]. Since they consider themselves as inferior to all, they refuse to judge or condemn anyone. Hence, they are not ready to accept any charge or authority in the Church.

e) *The Perfection: An Aspiration for Īḥīdāyūtā* (ܩܕܝܚܝܘܬܐ)

The essence of the proto-state of Adam is that there he was in a perfect union with God. For being in that state, the 'Perfect' / *gmīrē* of these days should shut their eyes to the evils of the earth and all its charms. They should be like one who is nailed to a cross and unable to conduct business in this world. They should contemplate, search, and meditate on what is above where Christ is seated on high at the right hand of God, and who has died to this world while he is still alive[118]. Even though literally these expressions point to a state of complete inactiveness, it is evident that through the ascetical terms of renunciation and detachment, the author wants to portray the obligation of man to be united with God. The detachment from the world in itself is nothing, but it should be to keep a tight bond with the Creator. So the uniqueness and sum total of the state of Perfection is the dwelling with the Lord.

It is notable that while speaking about the state of Perfection and the Perfect the author often used ܩܕܝܚܝܘܬܐ / *īḥīdāyūtā* and ܒܝܕܝܐ / *īḥīdāyā* - the significant expressions from the Syriac proto-monastic tradition[119]. The

[114] Cf. PS III, 60^{17-26}(3,7).
[115] Cf. PS III, 72^{12}(3,12).
[116] Cf. Matt 5:48.
[117] Cf. Col 1:28-29; PS III, 64^{9-19}(3,9).
[118] Cf. PS III, 76^{6-18}(3,14).
[119] See Chap.I, section «2.5.9 A Reaction to the Fifth-century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism».

īḥīdāyā[120] is a complex term in Syrian Literature with different shades of meaning. In Syriac New Testament *Īḥīdāyā* is the title of Christ translating Greek μονογενής, the only begotten of God the Father (John 1:14.18; 3:16.18). In Wis 10:1 *īḥīdāyā* refers to Adam. Aphrahat explains well the real connotation of Adam as *īḥīdāyā*:

> And it says, «The two of them will become one flesh». For it is true that just as a man and a woman become one flesh and one mind, and his thought and reasoning become separate from his father and mother, so too a man who has not yet taken a wife and who remains alone is in one spirit and one mind with his father[121].

Ephrem calls Christ *Īḥīdāyā*[122]. In *Hymns on Epiphany*, attributed to Ephrem *īḥīdāyā* refers both to Christ and to His followers. He describes the relation of the *Īḥīdāyā* to the *īḥīdāyē* in the context of baptism. At the time of baptism, the ascetics put on Christ the *Īḥīdāyā* and become *īḥīdāyē*[123]. For the consecrated *īḥīdāyē*, Christ the *Īḥīdāyā* par excellence is the model. But from this context, we can understand how the Perfect, in their perfect union with God can be called *īḥīdāyā* and the Perfection *īḥīdāyūtā.*

In short the state of Perfection *i.e. gmīrūtā* is the first will of God concerning His unique creation 'man'. After the fall, man has lost this state, but it was recreated and demonstrated to future generations by the incarnated Lord. Through the imitation of Christ the Apostles too became the Perfect *i.e. gmīrē* and paved the way to all those who follow 'the footsteps of Our Lord and the Apostles' and who renounce everything to become 'the brothers of the Lord', the Perfect. After the fall, Adam left the

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[120] It derives from the root «ܝܚܝ» and possesses different shades of meaning like: «the unique one, solitary, separate, individual, singular, the only-begotten, alone, hermit», *etc*. Cf. Sokoloff, 571.

[121] PS I, 840^{22}-841^{2}(XVIII,11):
ܐܦ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܬܬܚܕܘܢ ܒܣܪ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܘܐܢܬܬܐ ܒܣܪ ܚܕ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܚܕ ܪܥܝܢܐ ܘܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܩܐܡ ܒܚܕܝܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܚ ܚܕ ܘܒܪܥܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ❖

[122] *HVirg* IV, 5^{3}: «ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ», E. BECK, *de Virginitate*, 14.

[123] *HEpiph* VIII, $16^{5\text{-}6}.17^{1\text{-}4}$:
ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ .../ ܡܬܡܫܚܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܒܚܕ ܐܒܗܬ ܒܬܘܠܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܘ/ ܡܬܡܫܚ ܘܠܒܫ ܠܗ ܠܚܕ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܟܠ ܣܓܝܐ/ ܘܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܠ ܣܓܝܐ ❖

«They are baptized and they become virgins and holy ones / they step down, are baptized and they put on the One *Īḥīdāyā* / ... for whoever is baptized and puts on the *Īḥīdāyā*, the Lord of the many / has come to fill for him the place of the many / and the Christ becomes for him the great treasure», E. BECK, ed., *De Epiphania*, 173.

state of Perfection and received a lower state of Uprightness, which was granted to him by God.

1.1.2 The Uprightness (ܟܝܢܘܬܐ)

The technical terms used for the «Uprightness» and the «Upright» are ܟܝܢܘܬܐ / kēnūtā and ܟܝܢ / *kēnē*[124] respectively. The Uprightness can be considered as an indispensable preliminary to the Perfection. It is presented as a grade or a state with both ends opened; there is a possibility to go beyond to reach the «Perfection» and at the same time there is a chance to fall down from the «Uprightness» into Sheol[125]. There are two other terms ܟܫܪܘܬܐ[126] and ܟܫܝܦܘܬܐ[127] in the *KM*, possessing almost similar meaning, but never used as a technical term to indicate the fallen state of Adam.

a) *The Uprightness: The Fallen State of Adam*

The *KM* describes the Uprightness, *i.e. kēnūtā* − the fallen state of Adam − as a 'state' or 'grade' (ܕܪܓܐ)[128] inferior to the Perfection[129], a concession given to humanity because of God's mercy and man's repentance[130]. The *KM* presents both Satan and Adam as those who rebelled against God, but with a striking difference. Satan never repented, but Adam did. Thus, the repentance of Adam got a salvific role. According to the *KM*, it provided a different possibility of salvation - «the Uprightness», for the weak who have no strength to travel through the narrow and difficult ways of the Perfection[131]. However, the author never disregarded this state, and even in many times, he appreciated it. The term *kēnūtā* which means 'uprightness',

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[124] It derives from the root ܟܝܢ which means 'to be', 'to be right', 'to be firm', *etc*., Cf. Sokoloff, 608−609.

[125] Cf. PS III, 753^{9}-756^{5}(25,9).

[126] It is derived from the root ܙܕܩ; to be right, judge right, *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 110.

[127] This term which derives from the root ܟܫܦ means 'uprightness', 'integrity', 'rectitude', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 620.

[128] The term ܕܪܓܐ has many shades of meaning like 'stairway', 'step', 'rank', 'order', 'office', *etc*. It derives from the root ܕܪܓ, which in *Pe'al* means «to go», in *Pa'l*, 'to arrange by gradations', and in *Af'el*, 'to add gradually', cf. Sokoloff, 320.

[129] PS III, 17^{23-24}(1,4):

ܐܒܢ ܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܪܓܐ ܕܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܛܐ ܘܐܬܩܝܡ ܒܕܪܓܐ ܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܒܘܢ ܕܐܕܡ

«Our Father Adam had fallen from the grade of the Perfection, he remained in the grade of the Uprightness».

[130] Cf. PS III, 732^{1-5}(24,8).

[131] Cf. PS III, 628^{9}-629^{12}(21,18).

'justice', 'sincerity', *etc*., itself expresses its positive sense. It is true that Adam has fallen from the state of the Perfect, but it does not mean that he was continuously doing sins[132]. The author presents Adam in his state of uprightness as one who is good. See the text: «upright ones (ܙܕܝܩ) who do not harm anyone like Adam. For it is not written that he even struck the cheek of Cain who had killed his brother, but made him go on his way»[133].

The fall of man from the initial state of Perfection is presented in the *KM* as a 'sin' , or an 'error', or a 'transgression', or a 'fall'. The verb used to express it as a sin is ܚܛܐ [134]. We have its frequent use in the *KM*[135]. The verb ܥܒܪ[136] is there to show how Adam transgressed the 'first commandment' (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[137] or 'first law' (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[138], or the 'word' (ܦܬܓܡܐ)[139]. The verb ܢܦܠ which means 'to fall down'[140] is there to describe the fall as a fall from the first 'image' (ܨܠܡܐ)[141], from the Perfection[142], and from the heaven (ܫܡܝܐ)[143].

b) *The Uprightness: A Free Choice of Adam*

We have already seen that Adam in his proto-state was blessed with unique gifts of 'freedom' (ܚܐܪܘܬܐ) and 'choice' (ܒܚܝܪ)[144]. Hence, the author presents Adam as one who is responsible for his fall. For him, the

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[132] In the *KM* there are some references about the possibility of Adam to sin, cf. PS III, 788^{14}(28,1). However the clear mention is only about his first transgression in Paradise. Ephrem also shares the same idea, and praises Adam for not committing any sins, *Nachträge*, See *Auszug* IV, 1-2: ܫܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܐܕܡ ܠܐ ܚܛܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܒܪ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܩܛܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ «Nine hundred and thirty years Adam lived without sinning», E. BECK, ed., *Nachträge Zu Ephraem Syrus*, 53.

[133] PS III, 653^{17-20}(22,9):
ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܩܛܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܕܚܛܐ ܥܒܪ

fall from the Perfection was surely Adam's choice[145]. The obedience of the first parents to the 'evil one' (ܚܒܝܠ)[146] and the serpent[147] and their 'listening'[148] to the 'teaching of the evil one' (ܬܘܟܣܐ ܕܚܒܝܠ)[149] or 'Satan'[150] is the main cause of this fall. After hearing this 'teaching' Adam and Eve desired 'intercourse' (ܙܘܓܐ) and started to imitate the animals[151]. Instead of the word of God they heard the word of the evil one, which resulted in many distractions and ended in their fall. The author explains the severe impacts of this fall that happened in various realms.

+ The Loss of Paradise

The main result of the fall was the loss of Paradise. As we know in the Bible God sent out (ܫܕܪ) Adam from the Paradise of Eden (ܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ)[152] and drove him (ܦܩܕ) out. In *KM* too, on rare occasions, we can see the same idea that God stood as the subject of this expulsion[153]. But on very many other occasions he wanted to say that Adam 'left' Paradise according to his free will and choice. Main verbs used to express this action are ܢܦܩ [154], ܥܕܝ [155], ܫܒܩ [156], and ܢܚܠ [157]. The loss of Paradise is not a punishment on

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[145] He says: «Adam in his freedom chose labour, which is opposite of Perfection, and through his own choice he bore anxiety-something that stifles those who seek to ascend to the higher realm», PS III, 632^{7-11}(21,10).

[146] Cf. PS III, 37^{16-17}(2,6); 352^{4}(15,7); 584^{9}(21,1); 593^{4-5}(21,3); 793^{1-2}(28,5), *etc*.

[147] Cf. PS III, 625^{26}-628^{6-8}(21,17).

[148] The main verb ܫܡܥ means 'to hear', 'to obey', 'to understand', cf. Payne Smith, 584.

[149] There are many references in the *KM* about the teaching of the evil one. Different terms derived from the verb ܠܦ : «to teach, to train» used for it, cf. Payne Smith, 192.

[150] Cf. PS III, 337^{1-4}(15,1); 348^{12}(15,6); 584^{4}(21,1); 628^{10-18}(21,18).

[151] The *KM* clearly expresses that idea in PS III, 336^{10-11}(15,1):
ܡܚܠ ܒܝܕܟ ܙܘܓܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܟܣܐ ܕܚܒܝܠ ܕܐܫܬܕܠ ܒܗ ܠܡܦܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܠܡܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܠܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܒܗܡܬܐ ❖
«Adam desired intercourse' as a result of the 'teaching of the evil one' who had plotted to make him fall from sanctity of the angels and imitate beasts». For similar idea, cf., *Ibid*., 352^{2-6}(15,7).

[152] Cf. Gen 3:23-24.

[153] Cf. PS III, 349^{3}(15,6); 617^{13-14}(21,12).

[154] It means 'to go out', cf. Payne Smith, 345. In several instances, the author used this verb, cf. PS III, 348^{27}(15,6); 353^{19}(15,8); 465^{21-22}(19,7); 540^{12-13}(20,6); 608^{12-13}(21,8); 613^{4}(21,10); 709^{12-13}(23,10); 741^{14}(25,5); 760^{1}(26,1).

[155] This verb means «to leave, to go away», cf. Payne Smith, 557. For showing it as a deliberate action of Adam this verb is used in the work to say Adam left the Paradise, cf. PS III, 313^{2}(13,3); 353^{9-10}(15,8); 596^{3}(21,4); 605^{9}(21,8); 613^{21-22}(21,11).

the part of God, but a free choice that Adam had made[158]: «The Lord said to Adam:... you have cast aside heaven and chosen earth. You have left the good tree, that one by which you did not know evil, you descended to that one by which you have come to know evil and good. In other words, you fell from heaven to earth»[159].

+ The Loss of the Invisible Eye

The fall from the Perfection caused another great loss: loss of the capacity of man to perceive the invisible realities. In the Book of Genesis we have a reference to an 'opening of the eyes' of the first parents as an impact of their fall to see their nakedness[160]. The *KM* presents the nakedness of Adam and Eve which was invisible to them as a sign of their holiness. It says: «it is written, Adam and Eve were naked, and they could not see (ܚܙܝܐ ܠܐ) their own nakedness (ܥܪܝܢܘܬܐ), *i.e.* like sucking infants (ܛܠܝܐ) who are bare and do not know what nakedness is»[161]. In the *KM* the author tries to comment about the unawareness of their nakedness as part of a kind of invisibility, *i.e.* invisibility of terrestrial realities[162]: The earth was not visible to (Adam and Eve) because they did not even know that their bodies were naked, … but after they ate from the tree, that is after

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[156] The verb ܢܚ means 'to go down', 'to descend', 'get off', 'to sink', 'to fall', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 336. It is actually opposite of ܥܠܐ from which the title of our work derived, cf. PS III, 612^{13-16}(21,10); 736^{1}(25,2).

[157] It means 'to fall', 'to lie down', 'to fall in battle', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 344. Usually the journey to perfection, or being in the state of perfection is considered as a 'war' by many syriac writers. Hence this verb is relevant to express a failure from the side of man in the pursuit of perfection, cf. PS III, 541^{20}(20,6); 628^{18-19}(21,18); 753^{20}(25,9); 756^{3-4}(25,9).

[158] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 157-159.

[159] PS III, 625^{20-26}(21,17):

ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܥܪܛܠ ܗܘ ܒܓܘܫܡܗ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܒܝܫ ܘܛܒ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܕܥܪܛܠ ܗܘ ܒܓܘܫܡܗ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕ

they had abandoned heaven and loved the earth, their mind came from heaven to their bodies, then they saw that they were naked»[163].

After the fall, a transition happened to the direction of human eyes. They changed the direction of their eyes from heaven to earth, and hence, they lost the visibility of heavenly things and started to see earthly things. When their mind descended from heaven to earth, they lost the garment of glory that covered their mind and earthly realities become attractive to them. The *KM* reports that: «from then they saw that they were naked, after their mind stripped off that higher glory (ܗܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܙܒܢ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ), they went on to worry about clothing because they knew the shame that had been invisible to them while they were looking at heaven»[164].

It is known that our physical eyes are too limited to see the heavenly beings. But in the primitive original state Adam had that vision through his spiritual eyes, which he lost after his fall. The main reason for this blindness is presented as the change of direction of their sight. The first parents looked at the animals of the earth and the evil one taught them to imitate the wild beast[165]. They learned 'sexual intercourse' (ܙܘܓܐ ܕܒܗܡܝܐ) from these animals[166] and «they went on to desire union and to give birth like animals»[167]. The evil one himself invited the first parents to see the beauty of this world: «Look, see how the earth is attractive with its possession and its kingdoms. Listen to me and take possession and rule and you will not become poor and empty yourself and become a stranger on the earth»[168]. They easily accepted the idea and coveted the beauty of the earth[169] and started to love and desire earthly things[170] and became 'earthly people' (ܐܢܫܐ)[171]. Through the explanation given to episodes from the

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[163] PS III, 605[4-6.8-12](21,8):
ܟܝ ܐܡܪ ...ܗܘ ܒܗܝ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܬܟܣܝ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗ ܐܦ ܒܗܘ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐ ܕܐܬܟܣܝ ܒܒܘܪ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܕܐܒܘܗ ܕܒܗ

Book of Genesis, the author wants to tell about the loss of the contemplative power of man through worldly distractions which recall the need of a 'stripping off' of the worldly attachments to achieve an ascent to the Perfection.

+ The Taste of Death

The experience of the 'taste of death'[172] is presented as the next impact of the fall. It was the result of eating from «the tree of the knowledge of good and evil»[173]. In the *KM* we see: «The Holy Spirit, that is, the Lord, on the day He created man told him, if you eat from this tree you will taste death, that is, if you transgress the commandment and obey Satan, you will taste death»[174].

By 'death' (ܡܘܬܐ), the author never intended a physical death. According to him through the transgression of Adam, everybody tasted death[175]. Hence, it is sure that it is different from a physical death. The author identifies the sin with the death and he affirms that 'to taste death' is something else than to «cast off the body». Adam tasted the death first, and then only he cast off the body[176]. The author of the *KM* never affirmed a physical immortality for the grade of Perfection[177]. We have ample reasons

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[172] For detailed analysis of this theme in the *KM*, cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 153-157.

[173] «ܐܝܠܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܫܪ». It is already seen that in the *KM*, this tree is identified with Satan or evil one. See Chap.1, section «2.7.1 The Old Testament Quotations».

[174] PS III, 793[3-7](28,5):
ܡܢ ܕ ܠܐ ܢܐ ܟܠ ܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ

to consider the expression to ‘taste death’ as to «lose the state of Perfection» and hence the ability to anticipate the invisible heavenly bliss. The fall is described in the *KM* in a touching way.

> From then on Adam lived on the Earth, the heavenly became what is lowly, the spiritual became physical, the breath of life became the taste of death[178]. Majesty bent down and spoke with Adam, but Adam and Eve fled and hid themselves among the trees standing on the earth. The Lord said to Adam, «where are you Adam, are you not among the watchers above?» Adam said, «I heard your voice and I hid myself from your presence, because on earth I am ashamed to see you, before whose face I continually stood in heaven[179].

We can see that at the loss of Perfection ‘breath of life’ (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ) became ‘taste of death’ (ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ). It is not the separation of soul from the body which results in the physical death, but the departure of Holy Spirit from our soul. Hence, ‘to taste death’ is a metaphorical expression coined by the author to explain the nature of the loss of the Perfection. May be he took such an expression from a common tradition of his milieu[180] or from the episode of the prodigal son from Luke’s Gospel[181].

c) The Uprightness: The State of Being the Blessed Ones of the Lord

It is true that the people who are in the state of Uprightness have many shortcomings when compared to the Perfect. But at the same time, the *KM* appreciates them and give them much dignity. The Upright *i.e. kēnē* are presented as the ordinary believers. They are not detached from this world and have not overcome the love for the visible things of the world. They

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[178] PS III, 792[14-16] (28,4):
ܟܕ ܐܬܚܛܝ ܐܕܡ ܒܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܬܢܣܒ ܡܢܝܗ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ
«When Adam had sinned, the inbreathing was taken from him and thus he tasted death».

[179] PS III, 625[5-15](21,17):
ܘܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܡ ܚܘܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܚܘܝ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܕܟܝܢ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܐܕܡ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܚܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܛܝܐ ?

[180] A. Baker found similar expression in *the Ev.Thom.* 1, cf. A. BAKER, «The ‘Gospel of Thomas’», 52-53.

[181] This parable is referred in the *KM*, to show how the penitent will be received in heaven, cf Luke 15:11-32; PS III, 380[22]-384[1](15,18).

are directed by the golden rule in its negative and positive versions[182] that contains four basic commandments[183]. The conduct of the Upright depends on three fundamental precepts: fasting (ܨܘܡܐ)[184], prayer (ܨܠܘܬܐ)[185] and giving of alms (ܨܕܩܬܐ)[186]. They are the people who received the minor blessings (ܨܒܝܚܐ ܨܒܚܝܚܐ) which are called the pledge of God (ܚܝܬܐ ܨܠܗ ܕܝ)[187]. Through this pledge, the Upright becomes the 'blessed one of the Father' (ܒܪܟ ܐܒܐ)[188], about whom Matt 25:34-40 speaks and to whom the 'Kingdom' (ܨܒܚܠܟܘ) is promised. There in the Gospel, the expression is the 'blessed ones of my Father' (ܒܪܟ ,ܐܒܐ) and its Greek equivalent is εὐλογημένοι τοῦ Πατρός. The verbal root ܒܪܟ in *Pael* means 'to bless'[189]. In the biblical episode, the merit to deserve this title is works of charity. The Upright, *i.e. kēnē* of the *KM* too, dedicated their life to do charity to the people in need and hence deserve the title. While, in the episode of the Beatitudes in the Gospels[190], Jesus gives a different title

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[182] PS III, 373[27]-376[4](15,16):

ܘܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܠܚܒܪܟ ܐܝܟ ܢܦܫܟ ܘܟܠ ܕܣܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܚܒܪܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܟ ܕܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ

ܡܟܝܠ; in Greek μακάριος[191] which can also be translated as the 'blessed'[192]. When we go through this episode we can easily infer that the addressees are equivalent to *gmīrē* the Perfect of the *KM* and hence the title is not ܡܒܪܟ (εὐλογημένος)[193] but ܡܟܝܠ (μακάριος). The title ܡܟܝܠ derives from the root «ܟܝܠ» and is generally used as a title of honour of Apostles, Martyrs, Prophets, Patriarchs[194], *et al*. As we have seen in the first chapter, the editor addresses the anonymous author as the 'blessed' (ܡܟܝܠ)[195]. The word ܟܝܠ contains a meaning of final bliss or the extremity of blessedness. Hence, it is apt for *gmīrē* in the context of the *KM*.

The author sees in *kēnē*, *i.e*. the Upright mainly three elements[196] which stand as their main impediments to achieve the Perfection. 1. Marriage 2. Possessions 3. Labour. According to him he who has the courage to renounce these three elements can achieve the state of Perfection. However, the real intention of the author was not for a renunciation in literal sense. The following sections can throw light upon it.

+ Marriage

The *KM* prefers virginity but admits that marriage is given to Adam by God[197]. When they fell from the «Perfection» the Upright are allowed to enter into marriage as a concession[198]. From their part, God demanded some moral regulations to keep monogamy and to avoid prostitution. See the relevant passage: «Look, the marriage that you sought through the advice of the evil one has been given to you, only do not desire the wife of your neighbour and do not take two wives and do not allow your sons to commit fornication nor let your daughters become prostitutes»[199].

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[191] The term μακάριος means blessed, happy. It is often used as a form of address, cf. R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, II, 893.

[192] Cf. Payne Smith, 168.

[193] For different connotations of this term, cf. G.W.H. LAMPE, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 568-569.

[194] Cf. Payne Smith, 168.

[195] See Chap. I, section «2.6.1 a) *One of the Last Disciples of the Apostles?*».

[196] Cf. PS III, 541^{9-10}(20,6).

[197] Cf. PS III, 353^{9-17}(15,8); 541^{13-14}(20,6); 760^{23-24}(26,2).

[198] Cf. PS III, 336^{6-7}(15,1); 336^{13}-337^{1}(15,1); 340^{3-4}(15,2); 341^{10-11}(15,3); 736^{24}(25,2).

[199] PS III, 760^{23}-761^{1}(26,2):

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܒܝܫ ܒܥܝܢܟ ܕܐܬܒܥܝ ܠܟ ܒܡ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܒܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܠܐܢܬܬ ܚܒܪܟ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܢܣܒ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܢܫܝܢ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܒܘܩ ܠܒܢܝܟ ܕܢܙܕܢܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܒܢܬܝܟ ܕܢܗܘܝܢ ܙܢܝ̈ܬ ❊

+ Possessions

It is already seen that in the original state, Adam and Eve never desired anything of the Earth. But later they were attracted by them and God allowed them to possess them and to use them, but as a concession[200]. However, here too they are instructed to keep certain normative rules and to be aware of the temporality.

> Here is the possession that you have loved, oblivious to your honor. Acquire as much as you wish, only walk uprightly. Here is the earth that you have loved. It has been given to you; only do not take what belongs to your neighbour[201]…when you acquire, do not possess as forever and forget me. When you build, be like people who know that you will not be here forever[202].

+ Labour

In the original state of the first parents, when they were like angels[203], they had no need to work[204] and hence they had no anxiety[205]. In the *KM* it is presented even as God's command not to work: «Our Creator commanded us… not to be united with earthly things; that is we should not labour or possess anything on the earth[206]». But when Adam chose the state of Uprightness, the labour became part of that choice and a necessity for his living[207]. However, in this case too we have instructions to keep certain norms as: «Look, the labour that you have sought has been given to you, only do not covet the labour of your neighbour»[208].

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[200] Cf. PS III, 353[17-20](15,8).

[201] PS III, 760[18-21](26,2):

ܗܘ ܗܠܐ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܦ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܟܡ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܫܘܪ ܒܠܚܘ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܒܠܚܘ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܢ ܩܢܝ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ܘܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܬܫܟܚ ܠܝ ❖

[202] PS III, 761[4-7](26,3):

ܟܕ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܬܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܐܠ ܬܚܡܕ ܒܥܠ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܩܢܝ ܐܠ ܬܚܡܕ ܒܥܠ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܒܠܚܘ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܬܫܟܚ ܠܝ ❖

[203] Angels have no need to work, hence no toil and anxieties. God provides them everything. They will continually praise to the splendour of his majesty and do his will. Adam too enjoyed this privilege, cf. PS III, 80[16.20](3,15); 600[24-25](21,7).

[204] Cf. PS III, 601[3.21](21,7); 605[1](21,8); 613[1](21,10).

[205] Cf. PS III, 592[23](21,3); 600[25](21,7); 601[22-23](21,7); 605[2](21,8).

[206] PS III, 609[16.18-19](21,9):

ܗܘ ܗܠܐ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܦ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܟܡ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܫܘܪ ܒܠܚܘ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܒܠܚܘ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ❖

[207] Cf. PS III, 353[17-19](15,8); 613[1-5](21,10).

[208] PS III, 760[21-23](26,2):

ܗܘ ܗܠܐ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܦ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܢܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܟܡ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܫܘܪ ܒܠܚܘ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܠܡ ܒܗ ܕܚܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܒܠܚܘ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܬܐ ܐܠ ܬܚܙܩ ܒܗ ❖

The picture of the Upright drawn in the *KM* shows the author's appreciation for them. It is sure that they are placed below the Perfect, but they are expected to lead an exemplary life. They are the charity workers in the community[209]. They are engaged in the business but do it with uprightness[210]. They have to keep high moral values and should not steal, cheat, commit adultery or swear oaths, *etc*[211]. They have to honour others and treat them with respect[212]. At the same time, they have certain shortcomings. They have «not emptied themselves nor sought sanctification' (ܗܘܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܕܫ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܪܝܩ)»[213] and they have not been able to receive the 'Spirit the Paraclete' (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܪܩܠܛܐ)[214], or to follow the 'whole truth' (ܫܪܪܐ ܕܟܠ), and become the Perfect[215]. From the descriptions given so far, it is very clear that the difference between the Perfect and the Upright is subject to gradation.

1.1.3 The Eschatological Perfection

The author admits the possibility of the Upright to become the Perfect and the Perfect to go beyond Perfection. The 'state beyond the Perfection' is described well but never defined using a technical term. In this study we call this state 'Eschatological Perfection'. The author repeatedly affirms the possibility to go beyond perfection[216]. The *mēmrā* VI speaks about this process in detail[217]. The palace or vessel which is already built can achieve more perfection and beauty when the King begins to fill it with all sorts of goods. Using this example the author explained the further growth of a person after reaching the stage of the Perfection, *i.e. gmīrūtā*.

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[209] Cf. PS III, 48^{21}-49^{21}(3,2-3), 309^{3-5}(13,2); 328^{2-5}(14,2).
[210] Cf. PS III, 305^{2-7}(13,1).
[211] Cf. PS III, 324^{1-9}(14,1).
[212] Cf. PS III, 308^{14-23}(13,1-2).
[213] PS III, 48^{20}(3,2).
[214] We can see the use of the term ܦܪܩܠܛܐ in *HIei/App* II, 10^{3} and *HHaer* XXII, 14^{9}, cf. E. BECK, ed., *De Ieiunio*, 38; ID., *Contra Haereses*, 83; f.no. 222 in M. NIN, ed. – E. VERGANI, tr., *Ephrem il Siro*, 96.
[215] Cf. PS III, 68^{2-3}(3,10).
[216] Cf. PS III, 41-44(2,7-8).
[217] Cf. PS III, 140-144(6,1-2): «ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܕܫܝܢ ܘܡܬܬܪܝܢ (On those who are made Perfect and continue to grow)».

a) *A State of Fulfilment*

The difference between the stage of Perfection and the further growth is in terms of fulfilment. One can anticipate that glorious stage when he reaches the stage of perfection but the fullness is still beyond *i.e.* in a stage of «already but not yet». The final bliss is for the person in his integrity. In the state of perfection, one can anticipate the glory through his mind. But here in this state, the person is completely taken up from this world by Our Lord.

> so it is with this person: while standing in the body on earth (ܒܟܝܢܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ), his mind daily dwells in Eden in the Spirit (ܒܪܘܚ ܒܥܕܢ), that is in the heavenly Jerusalem (ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܠܥܠ). Thus, he grows daily and is fattened, delighting and rejoicing in the Spirit, until he arrives at the measure of the spiritual angels (ܒܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܟܐ). Then Our Lord will come and take him away completely from this world, as he already took away his mind and introduced it into Paradise, and there, in the heavenly Jerusalem will be his dwelling place… Such is the dwelling with Our Lord, which has been ordained for the humble and meek and holy, who are the inhabitants of the City of Life (ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ), who perform the good, acceptable and perfect will of Our Lord, while praying that the will of God be done by those on earth as it is done by those in heaven[218].

b) *A State of Dwelling with the Lord*

The major portion which Jesus prepares for the Perfect is nothing but the permission to dwell with him in eternal glory[219]. The highest level is presented as an eschatological bliss after the departure from this world. The *KM* narrates this level as: «then they depart from this world and come with Our Lord into that portion that he has prepared for them, that is to say, the highest level. This level is being prepared for those who through the Spirit have a spiritual ministry, which consists of keeping the major

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[218] PS III, 144[5-14. 19-24](6,2):
ܟܝ ܐܡ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܚ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܠܥܠ ܕܒܪܘܚ ܒܥܕܢ ܗܘ ܒܫܡܝܐ

commandments»[220]. We can see similar tripartite gradated narrations in many other realms. Actually, the author wants to explain the above-mentioned stages in spiritual growth using different metaphors.

1.2 *At the Level of the Commandments*

The *KM* speaks about different categories of commandments[221] present in Scripture. It presents these precepts[222] mainly as addressed to the people who are in pursuit of the Perfection. The author accepts the fact that commandments given by Our Lord and his disciples are different from each other[223]. Some commandments are given to individual people, and only these individuals can follow such commandments. For example to Abraham alone, God said, «Sacrifice to me your son (Gen 22:2)[224]». Only to Hosea did He say, «Go and take a harlot as your wife (Hos 1:2)»[225]. Here also the author's focus is on two major groups, and he claims that the evangelical precepts are not addressed to all alike. With regard to exegesis, a close observer can hear mainly two contradictory voices of the Gospel, one rigorous and one mild.

> Moreover, Our Lord said, 'Forgive your brother seventy times seven, [even] if he does you wrong [that many times] a single day. Yet again he said; think of him as a gentile. If these were spoken to [only] one [type of] person, which one would you choose? … In this way, the major and minor commandments

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[220] PS III, 53^{5-9}(3,4):

ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܒܘܩ ܠܐܚܘܟ ܥܕ ܫܒܥ ܙܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܚܕ ܠܟ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܥܘܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܚܕ ܐܢܫ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ

contrast because they were not spoken to one person, but to everyone according to the power in him[226].

In other words, the *KM* exhorts to distinguish these contradictory instructions, admitting the fact that they are addressed to persons at different levels of spiritual growth. In a way the exegetical approach of the *KM* effectively resolves the apparent contradiction between divine precepts[227]. Thus, there are the 'Minor Commandments' (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܙܥܘܪܝܬܐ)[228] and the 'Major Commandments' (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܪܒܝܬܐ)[229].

1.2.1 The Major Commandments

The precept given to Adam in his original state is generally called the 'first commandment' (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[230] or the 'first law' (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[231] or the 'first word' (ܡܠܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[232] or the 'first will' (ܨܒܝܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[233]. The subject matter of this commandment is concerning the state of Perfection that we discussed above. Before the fall God commanded Adam, not to obey the evil one, not to desire earthly things, not to work on the earth and not to eat from the tree[234]. The reason to obey the first commandment is given in the *KM* as God's own words:

> God said to them, Do not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, that is do not listen to it because it will teach you all sorts of evil things and take you away from heavenly things and from the kindness of your Creator. It will bind you up in transitory things and in toil, anxiety and pride and it will make you renounce your Creator and slay one another[235].

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[226] PS III, 276[15-19. 23-26](11,3).

[227] For the author's approach to Decalogue, cf. A.G. SALVESEN, «Early Syriac, Greek, and Latin Views of the Decalogue», 64-65.

[228] Cf. PS III, 41[4](2,8).

[229] Cf. PS III, 41[2](2,7).

[230] PS III, 761[19](26,4).

[231] PS III, 765[1](26,5).

[232] PS III, 761[22](26,4).

[233] PS III, 597[8-9](21,5).

[234] Cf. PS III, 593[3-6](21,3); 609[16-19](21,9). It is seen already that in the *KM* tree is Satan. So the content of the first command is to be pure and holy like angels without any desires.

[235] PS III, 585[10-18](21,1):

ܟܠ ܕܝ ܐܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠ ܡܝܟܠ ܡܝܟܠ ܡܝܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܝ ܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܐ ܐܟ
ܡܫܟܚܟ ܕܝ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܐ ܡܐ ܠܟ ܕܐ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܠܟ
ܕܐܘܝܟ ܠܟ ܟܕ ܡܫܟܚܟ ܡܫܟܝܟ ܡܟܬܟܕ ܡܫܟܬܟ ܠܟ ܐܡܟ ܡܟ ܠܟ ܕܐܘܝܟ
ܕܐܘܝܟ ܡܫܟܝܟ ܡܐ ܠܟ.

Adam could not keep this ‘first commandment’. Hence Christ through His incarnation presented the ‘Major Commandments’ (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܪܒܬܐ) to humanity again. They are given by Our Lord and His Apostles[236] and are the commandments[237] through which a person is made Perfect[238]. In a metaphorical way, these commandments are compared to ‘solid food’ (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܩܫܝܐ)[239] and described as ‘gentle’ (ܪܟܝܟܐ)[240]. For the observation of the ‘Major Commandments’ the *KM* exhorts one to leave everything (ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ)[241] and to enter into the lowliness of Our Lord and to His self-emptying (ܡܟܝܟܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܬܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ)[242]. This is nothing else but the «first commandment» that we mentioned above, *i.e.* the instructions given by Christ to return to the purity and holiness of Adam at his creation. They are again called the ‘commandments of Perfection’ (ܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ)[243]. The ‘first commandments» and the «new commandments» are same for the author. The magnanimity of God when He gave Adam the first law is noteworthy: «God gave Adam freedom (ܚܪܝܬܐ) and established for him a law for the aid of his soul (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ) lest he let go off heaven and inherit the earth. For he held him back from labour, anxiety and evil, but not from Perfection and Heaven»[244].

The author picked certain exhortations from the NT and presented them as the instructions of Our Lord to the Perfect[245]. But when we carefully

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[236] PS III, 25^{3}(2,1): ܡܢ ,ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܝ

[237] A detailed narration of these commandments is given in PS III, 28^{12}-37^{20}(2,2-6).

[238] Cf. PS III, 25^{2}(2,1).

[239] Cf. PS III, 16^{12-18}(1,2); 17^{3-12}(1,3); 25^{2-3}(2,1); 456^{20-21}(19,5). We will discuss it in a following section.

[240] Cf. PS III, 44^{1}(2,8); 45^{4-5}(3,1).

[241] Cf. PS III, 16^{8}(1,2); Matt 25:21; Mark 10:8.

[242] Cf. PS III, 16^{9}(1,2).

[243] Cf. PS III, 593^{13}(21,4).

[244] PS III, 604^{25}-605^{4}(21,8):

ܒܝܢܝ ܡܕܡ ܡܛ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܚܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܢ ܠܐ ܣܒ ܐܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܠܐ ܡܢ
ܡܢ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܪܓܙ ܘܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ
ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܟܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܢ.

[245] Cf. PS III, 28^{12}-37^{20}(2,2-6); 40^{5-7}(2,7). All these exhortations are mainly from Gospels, *i.e.* from Sermon on the ‘Mount’ and the ‘Plain’, cf. Matt 5; Luke 6. Argárate explained its bond to NT very well, cf. P. ARGÁRATE, «The Perfect and Perfection», 158. In one place the author identifies the ‘first commandment’ with the ‘Gospel which Jesus gave’ (ܕܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ) and the ‘commandment given to Adam after his fall as the Uprightness given by Moses and the Prophets (ܡܫܬܐ ܡܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ), cf. PS III, 764^{23}-765^{2}(26,5). But such a sharp division of people of the NT as *gmīrē* and the people of the OT as *kēnē* is not clear in the *KM*. It is quite easy for the reader to infer that the contemporary community of our author includes both.

examine these instructions[246] they can be considered as a call to become «all things to all people (ܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܟܠ ,ܐܡ)»[247]. It demands a perfect renunciation. They have to hate «the life of this transient world (ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܒܕ)»[248].

The perfect are the members of Lord's family and can become the Lord's brother, mother, sons, and sisters[249]. But this status cannot be taken for granted to certain elected ones. It is also a responsibility which demands a commitment to the Major Commandments. «That means whoever abandons these major, humble and renunciatory commandments descends to the minor ones»[250].

The commandments usually expose the will of the commander. Here too the 'will of God' (ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ) is manifested through His Commandments. As it is seen above the 'first will' (ܨܒܝܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ)[251] of God is an expression used by the author to express the contents of the 'first commandments', *i.e.* what is God's desire concerning man. The *KM* reports that «Adam lived at first according to the perfect will of God»[252] and later Christ showed what that «perfect will of God»[253] was, to the later generations. Here the 'first will' is confronted with the 'last will' (ܨܒܝܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܢܐ). The author of the *KM* says that they are in the perfect match[254]:

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[246] It is not found any directions to help others in their material or physical needs. But it does not mean that they are the instructions to lead a completely isolated ascetical life. The Majority of them are the guidelines to keep the relation with others in perfect love, *i.e.* a call for excellence in love. They exhort the Perfect to bless and to pray for others, even for their enemies.

[247] Cf. PS III, 37^{2}(2,6).

[248] PS III, 32^{20-21}(2,4).

[249] Cf. PS III, 33^{8-9}(2,4); Matt 3:14.

[250] PS III, 32^{16-18}(2,4):

ܐܚܝܢ ܠ ܒܫܘ ܟܦܝܪܐ ܟܚܝܕܐ ܟܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܟܦܝܪ ܟ ܕ ܐܡ

[251] Cf. PS III, 592^{20}(21,3); 597^{8-9}(21,5); 605^{17-18}(21,8).

[252] PS III, 600^{20-21}(21,7): ܐܚܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܨܒܝܢ ܗܘ ܩܕܡ ܕ ܩܕ ܐܕܡ ܐܠ

[253] «ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܝ ܨܒܝܢ». Cf. PS III, 589^{7}(21,2); 597^{5-9}(21,5); 600^{20-21}(21,7). The expression «the perfect will of God» has its basis in Rom 12:2. Three attributes are there in the epistle to describe the will of the Lord: 1. good (ܛܒ); 2. pleasing (ܪܥܝܐ); 3. perfect (ܓܡܝܪ). This verse is cited many times in the *KM*. Sometimes instead of 'good' (ܛܒ) the author used 'great' (ܪܒ), cf. PS III, 12^{15-16}(1,1); 48^{19-20}(3,2); 144^{22-23}(6,2); 828^{15-16}(29,6); 920^{15-16}(30,25). In all these occasions he wants to present the characteristics of *gmīrē* as «the good acceptable perfect will of God».

[254] The author pointed out many similarities between them in detail to defend his argument, cf. PS III, 592^{20}-593^{9}(21,3).

«See that the thing that the Lord desired at first is what he also desired at the last. Because of this, he said 'I am the first and I am the Last'(ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܝܐ), that is my great and perfect will, the first and the last»[255].

The observers of Major Commandments are able to discern the 'whole will of God' (ܟܠ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ), which is 'acceptable' (ܛܒ) and 'perfect' (ܫܠܡ) and through it, they can know the 'whole truth of the new world (ܟܠ ܫܪܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ) and live with dwellers of that 'city of saints' (ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ), which is the 'higher Jerusalem' (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܥܠܝܬܐ) and live with Our Lord forever and ever[256].

Now we can easily infer what this perfect will is. All men should detach themselves from earthly affairs to be pure, holy, and like angels, they should praise the Lord continuously without any other work. As R. Roux observes the major commandments[257] «imply the readiness to abandon everything, live in humility, and experience dispossession according to the example of Our Lord»[258].

The Major commandments are directly addressed to the Perfect, but nobody is excluded from them. While speaking about the need to write them down, the author made it clear that it should be done so that even simple people may attain insight and everyone may try to enter through the narrow gate of Perfection or inherit the state of Uprightness below it[259].

1.2.2 The Minor Commandments

It was only after the transgression of this first commandment that God provided a 'second Law'[260] to Adam. Before that, there was no gradation to the level of commandments. These are the 'commandments addressed to the whole world' (ܛܒ ܟܠ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ)[261], *i.e.* given to 'all' (ܟܠ) to become an Upright one, *i.e. kēnā*[262]. Those who observe the

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[255] PS III, 597^{5-9}(21,5).

[256] Cf. PS III, 869^{4-10}(30,3-4).

[257] There is a long list in *mēmrā* II and XIX. When we go through them we can see them as instructions for detachment from the World and to achieve perfect love.

[258] R. ROUX, «Biblical Exegesis», 108.

[259] Cf. PS III, 25^{8}-28^{2}(2,1).

[260] The same concept of 'second legislation' (ܬܘܕܝܬ ܢܡܘܣ) is there in *Didasc. Syr.* Chap. XXVI, cf., A. VÖÖBUS, ed. – tr., *Didascalia: Chapters XI-XXVI*, Syriac text, CSCO 407, 241-265; English trans., CSCO 408, 223-248.

[261] PS III, 145^{1}(7,1).

[262] Cf. PS III, 28^{7}(2,1); 145-188(7,1-21).

'commandments that are given to all' (ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܠܗ)[263], will become *kēnē*. At the same time since they fail to keep 'all the commandments of Our Lord' (ܦܩܘܕܐ ,ܕܡܪܢ ܟܠܗܝ)[264] they cannot do «whole of the great acceptable and perfect will of God»[265]. By observing these commandments one can reach the stage of Uprightness[266]. They can be summarized as 10 commandments and the golden rule. These are the 'commandments of faith', which include moral and cultic regulations[267] and which contain instructions to flee from the evil ones[268]. Minor Commandments are like 'milk'(ܚܠܒܐ)[269] and 'vegetables' (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ)[270] and meant for 'children' (ܛܠܝܐ) and the sick (ܚܫܝܫܐ) who are not yet mature. In the usage of these dietary imageries the influence of Pauline corpus is clear. The detaied discussion is there in the following section number 1.3. As one grows up one is demanded to leave the minor commandments and to enter into the major commandments[271]. The fervent efforts to keep the minor commandments will prepare a person to outgrow the minor commandments, stand fast in the major ones and to become the Perfect[272].

1.2.3 The State Beyond any Laws

Possible opportunities to do more than the Major Commandments prescribe are often indicated in the *KM*, indeed, if one is ready for it to surpass them[273]. But it instructs that all such attempts should be for the sake of love[274]. Then the observer will be «glorified with Our Lord (ܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ

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[263] Cf. PS III, 16^{25}(1,2).

[264] PS III, 48^{18}(3,2).

[265] PS III, 48^{19-20}(3,2): ܕܢܥܒܕ ܘܢܫܠܡ ܠܟܡ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܝܢ ܠܗ

[266] *Mēmrā* VII: «ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܥܠ (On the commandments of the Upright)», cf. PS III, 145-88(7,1-21).

[267] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 115; PS III, 313^{3-20}(13,4).

[268] Cf. PS III, 864^{7-8}(30,2).

[269] *Mēmrā* V: «ܛܠܝܐ ܕܚܠܒܐ ܥܠ (On the Milk of the Children)», cf. PS III, 100-137(5,1-20).

[270] *Mēmrā* IV: «ܚܫܝܫܐ ܕܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܥܠ (On the Vegetables for the Sick)», cf. PS III, 84-97(4,1-7).

[271] Cf. PS III, 40^{8-11}(2,7).

[272] Cf. PS III, 41^{20-22}(2,8).

[273] PS III, 44^{1-15}(2,8). The *mēmrā* XVI «ܐܝܟ ܙܕܝܩ ܢܬܪ ܥܠ ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ (On how a person may surpass the Major Commandments)» is dedicated on this theme. *Ibid.*, 388-413(16,1-12).

[274] Cf. PS III, 41^{1-4}(2,7-8).

ܚܝ ܚܡ)»[275]. But the observance of those precepts leads to a transcendence of the laws[276]. The nature of this state of transcendence is noteworthy: «you will be above the major and minor commandments and above the Law and the Prophets, and you will understand Our Lord, that is, His way of life through which you will journey to Him and to His Apostles»[277]. Again in another context, the *KM* tells about a state above the law. Here Our Lord becomes his law.

> The Law (ܢܡܘܣܐ) does not have power over a person who in the Spirit pursues love, for he is above the law (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܥܠ ܠܐ). Therefore, if you desire that the first law (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ) would not judge you, do not sin physically (ܠܐ ܬܚܛܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ). If you desire that the last law (ܐܚܪܝܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ) not find fault with you, do not sin in your heart by a sinful thought about any person (ܠܐ ܒܠܒܟ ܬܚܛܐ ܠܐܢܫ ܕܐܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ). If you wish to be with the Lord of the Scriptures (ܡܪܝ ܟܬܒܐ), love your Lord and love every person who is from the children of Adam, and look, you have encompassed the law[278].
>
> The law does not have authority over them to judge them because they do the will of Our Lord more than when it was written in the law[279].

They are following the will of Our Lord (ܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢ) and are doing more than what is written in the law (ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܒܟܬܒ)[280]. There they are in a state in which they can surpass all the written laws.

The commandments are again gradated under the titles 'the commandments of faith and love' (ܦܩܕܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܚܒܐ)[281]. They

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[275] PS III, 44[3-4](2,8).

[276] Cf. PS III, 393[9-10](16,3).

[277] PS III, 393[4-8](16,3):

ܒܝܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܝܕ ܢܡܘܣ ܟܡ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܢܕܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܢܡܘܣ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܘܬܬܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܬܗܠܟ ܠܘܬ ܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ❖

[278] PS III, 405[10-19](16,8):

ܘ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܢܡܘܣ ܒܝܕ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܠܒܟ ܕܬܚܛܐ ܠܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܐܢ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܒܟ ܒܝܫ ܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܐܢ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܘܗܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܕܬܗܘܐ ❖

[279] PS III, 901[1-3](30,16):

ܕܠܐ ܢܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܡܘܣ ܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ❖

[280] Cf. PS III, 901[3-4](30,16).

[281] The detailed description of the gradation at this level can be seen in *mēmrā* XXX: «ܒܬܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܦܩܕܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܚܒܐ ܠ (On the commandments of faith and the love of the solitaries)», cf. PS III, 859-932(30,1-29).

seem very close to minor and major commandments in their descriptions. But the commandments of love are placed between that of 'faith' and 'perfection' as a mid-level[282]. The exact difference between the commandments of love and those of perfection is not stated clearly. Both faith and love are called the 'educators of the young' (ܡܪܒܝܢ ܥܘܠܡܐ)[283]. But their methodology is different according to the capacity of their disciples. When a person has 'loved and is perfected' (ܐܬܚܒܒ ܘܐܬܓܡܪ)[284] he will reach a state capable of 'edifying the Church' (ܡܫܟܚ ܠܡ ܒܗ ܠܡܒܢܝ)[285]. The reason is well explained by the author.

> because he knows with whom it is necessary to speak the commandments of faith so that he might be preserved and saved through them; and with whom it is necessary to speak the commandments of love so that he might profit through them, and to whomever it is right to teach the ministry of Perfection so that he might become great through it[286].

The gradations presented in the realm of commandments, in their literal sense are not intended for a gradated society. A close reading reveals that they are addressed to all those who are walking in the way of perfection and serve as their milestones. However, the response of the person to divine percept is subjective and varies from person to person according to his spiritual level. Here the observance of R. Cacitti is notable:

> La costruzione dei rapport etici — per il Liber Graduum — si fonda sulla diversa rispondenza ai praecepta divini, non sulla loro istituzionalizzazione ecclesiastica. E se la giustizia è la condizione umana per eccellenza dopo il peccato di Adamo, è pur sempre possibile per il nostro testo tentare di recuperare quell'originario stato paradisiaco lungo la via perfectionis[287].

Even the commandments given to individuals like Abraham and Hosea are actually a message for the rest[288]. The forgiveness given to one

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[282] Cf. PS III, 861^{21}-864^{4}(30,1).

[283] PS III, 864^{10}(30,2).

[284] PS III, 868^{11-12}(30,3).

[285] PS III, 868^{12}(30,3).

[286] PS III, 868^{13-18}(30,3):

ܡܚ ܕܐܡ ܚܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܢܚܠ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܕܢܬܛܪ ܘܢܬܚܝ ܒܗ ܘܐܝܟ

individual only — the robber — without having any works to his credit was to encourage the other penitents[289]. Our Lord showed the richness of his mercy through the example of this person.

1.3 *At the Level of Diet*

To explain the stages of one's maturity in the spiritual journey the author uses certain dietary images[290] like 'milk for the children' (ܚܠܒܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ)[291], 'vegetables for the sick'(ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܚܘܠܝܐ) and the 'solid food (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ)[292] for the mature[293]. Through these dietary images, the author of the *KM* mainly tried to support his argument about the existence of contradictory commandments given to different groups according to their spiritual maturity.

1.3.1 The Solid Food

In the *KM*, the «solid food», is equated with the Major commandments and complete knowledge (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܓܡܝܪܐ)[294] and indended for the mature

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admonition, a pedagogical message for Israelites who lived in fornication and through centuries it reaches up to us, cf. PS III, 21^{7-22}(1,6).

[289] Cf. PS III, 24^{1-10}(1,7).

[290] The author's description of the different types of food meant for distinguished groups at different spiritual levels might have been borrowed from St. Paul, cf. 1Cor 3:1-3; Rom 14:1-4. The metaphorical usage of «milk and solid food» is there in Heb 5:12-14 too. The same usage of milk is there in Origen mainly in his *Hom. 1-16 in Lev.*, I, 4, cf. ORIGEN, *In Leviticum*, in PG 12, 409-410; English trans., *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16*, tr. G.W. Barkley, 36; and in *Hom. 1-28 in Num.*, XXVII, 1, cf. ORIGEN, *In Numeros*, in PG 12, 780; English trans., *Homilies on Numbers*, tr. T.P. Scheck, 168. This cannot be considered as an indication of the Greek influence on the work. May be both the authors borrowed the Pauline expressions.

[291] Cf. PS III, 16^{12-18}(1,2). *Mēmrā* V: «On the milk of the children (ܚܠ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ)» explains the nature of this metaphorical expression of St. Paul. Direct quotation of 1Cor 3,1-3 can be seen in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 281^{19-21}(11,5); 457^{2-3}(19,5): «ܐܝܟ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܕܫܩܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ (As children in Christ I have given you milk to drink)».

[292] Cf. PS III, 16^{12-18}(1,2). *Mēmrā* IV: «ܚܠ ܕܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܚܘܠܝܐ (On the vegetables of the sick)» is dedicated for this theme, cf. PS III, 84-97(4,1-7). Its root are in Rom 14:1-4 where Paul refers those who eat vegetables as those who are weak in faith.

[293] In a detailed article K.E. Bryant speaks about the way in which the author uses these biblical images to explain the states of different groups in his community, cf. K.E. BRYANT, «You Are What You Eat», 173-189.

[294] Cf. PS III, 869^{1-3}(30,3).

people. Through solid food they achieve perfection[295]. There is ample evidence to show it as a gradual growth. Anyone who cannot retain solid food (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܨܒܪ) must feed on milk (ܚܠܒ) until he knows the truth (ܫܪܪ)[296]. God Himself showed patience until the children (ܛܠܝܐ) should grow strong. Then, once they had become adults (ܪܒܝܐ), He gave them the solid food through the Paraclete (ܒܐܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܕܫ) and disclosed to them the whole truth (ܫܪܪ ܟܠ)[297].

It is also interesting to note that Adam before he obeyed the evil one was permitted to eat from «the trees of the Paradise above the heavens». These days the Perfect who keeps the Major commandments can access these large trees of spiritual paradise[298].

1.3.2 The Milk and Vegetables

The 'milk for the children' (ܚܠܒܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ) and the 'vegetables for the sick' (ܡܘܪܩܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ) which are equated with the Minor Commandments (ܦܩܕܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ) and deserve our attention[299]. Here 'children', 'sick', 'milk' and 'vegetables' are metaphors[300]. One who has not yet reached the state of

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[295] Cf. PS III, 88^{25}(4,2).

[296] PS III, 112^{7-10}(5,7). In Ephrem we have same usage: But he uses there the word 'bread' to represent solid food. See *HEccl* XXV, 18^{1-4}:

ܟܕ ܟܕܡ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܐ ܠܝܠܕܗ ܥܡ ܡܬܝܠܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܠ ܡ ܢܡܝ
ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܐ ܠܝܠܕܗ – ܡܬܝܠܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܥܡ ܡܬܝܠܦ ܠ ܡ ܫܦܠ
ܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܥܡ ܡܬܝܠܦ ܠ ܡ ܫܦܠ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܥܡ ܡܬܝܠܦ ܠ ܡ ܫܦܠ ❖

«Attuned to us is the Divinity like a wet nurse to an infant - Watching the time for his benefits, knowing the time for weaning him - Both when to rear him on milk and when to feed him with bread - Weighing and offering benefits according to the measure of his growth», E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*, 57.

[297] PS III, 132^{9-15}(5,17).

[298] PS III, 37^{22}-40^{2}(2,7):

ܗܫܬ ܐܝܠܢ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܫܝ ܕܛܪܝܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܫܝ ܕܛܪܝܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܫܝ ܕܛܪܝܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܫܝ ܕܛܪܝܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܫܝ ❖

«Now the large trees of the Spiritual paradise, of which those who keep the major commandments eat, are the following: faithfulness, abstinence, lowliness, love, hope, truthfulness, and holiness in Our Lord. These are the things that they eat and enjoy with Our Lord».

[299] Cf. PS III, 16^{12-18}(1,2); 272^{9-10}(11,1); 456^{16-18}(19,5); 512^{6-9}(19,35); 864^{20-22}(30,2). The children and the sick, *i.e.* the milk and the vegetables are usually presented together as one class which is associated with the Minor Commandments.

[300] While reading the entire work their different connotations can be seen. Adam in his perfect state was presented like a child. Hence child is not a synonym for immaturity

Uprightness should be treated in the «'quarters of the sick'[301] and the children»[302] and by keeping these commandments one can become a 'blessed one' (ܚܝܐ)[303], *i.e. kēnā* [304]. However, milk and vegetables are not intended for the whole life. One who wants to become *gmīrā* should abandon them just like a child who while he grows stronger, gives up the milk of his mother[305]. He must feed on milk until he knows the truth (ܝܕܥܐ)[306]. Again we have a clear indication that it is not the milk or vegetable in themselves, but the person who receives them that determines their effect[307]. The commandments under the title of 'milk of the children' mainly demand a separation from the sinners[308]. It is very hard to define the 'sick'[309] and the 'children'. In the fourth *mēmrā* the 'sick' describes morally rigid people who think that they get contaminated by the sins of their neighbour[310]. But many times the author uses the metaphors 'milk and vegetables' to denote Minor Commandments which are addressed to the Upright[311]. The 'milk and vegetables' are given to prevent one from falling

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but a symbol of purity too, cf. PS III, 340^{12-15}(15,3). Again it quotes Our Lord's words to become like a child to attain its humility and to imitate him who never judges anybody, cf. PS III, 400^{3-23}(16,5-6). It is also written that the Apostles, during their fast, consumed vegetables. Here the author intended literally 'vegetables', cf. PS III, 129^{7}(5,17). The author pointed out the difference as «… is it not evident that Paul called sick whoever is ill in his mind and understanding is little, but does not call sick whoever fasts and eats bread and vegetables and salt?», PS III, 460^{10-12}(19,6). Considering Adam as a child is shared by many other Christian writers. We have a brief study on this theme, cf. Y. DE ANDIA, «Adam as a Child», 257-268.

[301] An example of 'qarters for sick' is there In Rabbula's rule for *qyāmā*. In rule no. 29, it is written that the fallen ones from *qyāmā* were send to monasteries for repentance, cf. RABBULA, «Commandments and the Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the *Bnay Qyāmā*», 44.

[302] Cf. PS III, 28^{1-7}(2,1).

[303] PS III, 28^{6}(2,1).

[304] PS III, 28^{7}(2,1).

[305] Cf. PS III, 40^{8-11}(2,7); 273^{26-27}(11,1); 281^{14-25}(11,5); 293^{1-6}(12,3); 296^{23-25}(12,5).

[306] Cf. PS III, 112^{9-10}(5,7).

[307] By eating the same vegetables one person is healed more effectively than another and by drinking the same milk one becomes more beautiful than another. In one instant the author sees the work of the 'Paraclete' (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ) behind it, cf. PS III, 17^{8-15}(1,10); 45^{1-4}(3,1); 88^{2-5}(4,1).

[308] Cf. PS III, 105^{8-18}(5,4).

[309] The «Sick» is the one whose conscience is ill, cf. PS III, 893^{14-15}(30,13).

[310] Cf. PS III, 93^{5-7}(4,5).

[311] PS III, 12^{4-5}(1,1); 272^{9-13}(11,1); 455^{16-20}(19,5).

from Uprightness[312] and of course, it is useful for the healing of the one who has even fallen from Uprightness. In short the consumers of the 'milk and vegetables' are in the preliminary stage but with the potency to persue perfection.

1.3.3 The Eschatological Food

At the level of food too, an indirect mention of a third level is there in the *KM*. As we have seen above, the Perfect enjoy the meal with the Lord, not eat Our Lord. But who already became perfect through milk and solid food will «truly eat Our Lord». It can be considered as the eschatological meal from the following passages.

> they become perfect (ܡܬܓܡܪ) and truly eat Our Lord (ܡܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܠܡܪܝܐ), as he had said, «whoever will eat me also live on account of me». When they have eaten the solid food (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ), as the Apostle said: «Solid food is for the Perfect who have the strength to train to comprehend what is height and depth and length and width» then they will reach that church on high (ܒܝܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܠ) and it will perfect them and they will enter that city of Jesus our King (ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܠܟܢ)[313].

> They may be bound up with Our Lord in that world in which there is no death where they will eat the life-giving words of Our Lord (ܡܠܐ ,ܕܚܝܐ). They shall eat Our Lord (ܢܬܟܠ ܒܗ ,ܢܬܚܝ) and live and become great and be perfected through him[314].

Here the food is nothing else but Our Lord himself, not any Commandments, but the Commander himself. The one who is lifted up to the city of Jesus can go beyond of the state of the *gmīrā*. Adam could eat from the trees of the Paradise[315] before his fall. Neglecting the words of God, he used his freedom to taste even from 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (ܐܝܠܢ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܛܒ ܘܒܝܫ ܕܐܬܪ ܓܢܬܐ)[316]. But the 'Tree of Life' (ܐܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܐ) was beyond his access. The *KM* clearly says that «the good tree, in that world of light invisible to the eyes of flesh, is Our Lord Jesus.

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[312] Cf. PS III, 28^{1-11}(2,1).

[313] PS III, 293^{6-15}(12,3).

[314] PS III, 588^{6-9}(21,1):

ܡܠܐ ,ܕܚܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܡܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܡܢ ,ܢܬܚܝ ܘܢܬܪܒܐ ܘܢܬܪܘܡ ܘܢܬܟܠܠ ܒܗ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ❊

[315] Cf. PS III, 37^{22}-40^{2}(2,7).

[316] Cf. PS III, 584^{3}(21,1). In *KM* this tree is identified with the Satan, see Chap.I, section «2.7.1 The Old Testament Quotations».

He is the Tree of Life»[317]. Hence this stage beyond perfection, one can eat Our Lord who is the 'Tree of Life'.

A close reading of these dietary images will help the reader to place them in tune with the major argument of the entire work. Through these metaphors borrowed from the Bible, the author wanted to affirm the general fact that no one who pursues the Perfection is in a static state. He needs care at each stage according to his maturity. Again, not only the food but also the response of the consumer is important for its effectiveness. It is not fair to consider the Upright and the Perfect as two distinct groups canceling all the chances of mingling. The use of the term *gmīrā*, associated with the dietary images borrowed from the Bible, is relevant in this study. In this context, it is evident that the term refers to 'maturity', a state of growth and not to a particular elite group.

1.4 *At the Level of Ministry*

The gradation again continues at the level of ministry. Those who are in the state of Uprightness, Perfection and those who have received the eschatological perfection are performing their ministry in three different ways.

1.4.1 The Spiritual Ministry

The 'spiritual ministry' (ܫܘܬܦܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ) consists in keeping the Major Commandments[318]. The Perfect cannot perform any charitable service due to their radical renunciation of earthly possessions[319]. Even though they do not possess anything, they ideally give up even the 'taking and giving' or 'accepting and providing' in this world. They have no business with things visible[320]. They can teach the wealthy to give from their possessions to the poor with their own hands without being involved in such business[321]. Rather, they engage in spiritual ministries. They are the 'ministers of the spirit' (ܫܡܫܢܝ ܪܘܚܐ) like Mary and Simon Peter [322], who on the other hand, are able to distinguish the commandments, preach the

[317] PS III, 589[3-6](21,2):
ܡܢܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܚܝ ܘܐܢ ܐܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܚܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

[318] Cf. PS III, 45[4-5](3,1).
[319] Cf. PS III, 56[8-10](3,6).
[320] Cf. PS III, 60[5](3,7).
[321] Cf. PS III, 57[9-15](3,7); 65[6-8](3,10).
[322] Cf. PS III, 81[2-3](3,16).

true Word and show all people how to be saved and how to grow[323]. The author provides support for such an attitude in conformity with what Our Lord himself and his Apostles practiced when they appointed 'deacons' (ܫܡܫܢܐ) for the sick, the naked, the strangers, the captives, and all others in need, while they themselves attended to the Word of God and prayer[324]. The Perfect eradicate all their faults by the power of Our Lord while patiently praying to Him. They should be constant in 'prayer' (ܨܠܘܬܐ) and 'intercession' (ܨܠܘܬܐ), in 'ministering' (ܫܡܫܢܐ) and 'reading' (ܩܪܝܢܐ) the Word of God. They are benefactors to all people and to themselves also, in prayer and in counseling concerning the 'new life' (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ)[325]. They are aware of the fact that there are persons who hunger for 'righteousness' (ܙܕܘܬܐ)[326] and 'solid food' (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ)[327] and are devoid of the 'invisible garment' (ܠܒܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ)[328], devoid of 'light' (ܢܘܗܪܐ), 'life' (ܚܝܐ) and 'kingdom' (ܡܠܟܘܬܐ)[329]. They who are in spirit will clothe those who lack them by their 'good teaching' (ܫܦܪ ܬܘܠܦܢܐ). Thus, they who possess something invisible to 'carnal eyes' (ܡܓܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ) satisfy those who hunger for righteousness and for solid food and they make all people Perfect in Christ (ܓܡܝܪܝܢ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ)[330]. The *KM* describes spiritual ministry as a ministry to the 'soul': «Whoever is in the Spirit, however, ministers to what is invisible for corporeal eyes, namely to the soul, which is visible in the Spirit for the spiritual eye»[331].

The spiritual ministers are bound to Our Lord in 'thought' (ܪܥܝܘܢܐ), in the 'sacrifice of mind' (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܕܥܐ), in 'prayer' (ܨܠܘܬܐ), in 'thanksgiving' (ܬܘܕܝܬܐ), and in 'lowliness' (ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ)[332]. They are the 'ministers of word and prayer' (ܫܡܫܢܝ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܨܠܘܬܐ)[333]. They are set apart to teach all the people. They are those who are able to distinguish the

[323] Cf. PS III, 77^{1-12}(3,14).
[324] Cf. Acts 6:4; PS III, 57^{18}-60^{2}(3,7).
[325] Cf. PS III, 60^{25-26}(3,7).
[326] PS III, 64^{11}(3,9).
[327] PS III, 64^{11}(3,9).
[328] PS III, 61^{24}(3,9).
[329] Cf. PS III, 61^{25}(3,9).
[330] Cf. PS III, 64^{16-19}(3,9).
[331] PS III, 81^{19-21}(3,16):
ܘܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܫܡܫ ܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܠܒܫܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܗܘ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܗܝ ܠܥܝܢ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ
[332] Cf. PS III, 76^{25-26}(3,14).
[333] Cf. PS III, 77^{16-17}(3,15).

commandments and preach the true Word and to show all people how to be saved and how to grow. The Spirit teaches them to instruct the people to make them all ministers of God according to their abilities. Whoever can serve in the Spirit must be made a spiritual minister and whoever can serve in the body must be taught to be ministers of the body[334].

1.4.2 The Physical Ministry

Being the tradesmen of this world, the Upright are engaged in 'physical ministry' (ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܫܘܡܫܝܐ)[335]. Since they do not abandon their riches and their wives, they can fulfill the Lord's exhortation for the works of charity, and the author assures them that they will inherit the 'kingdom' (ܡܠܟܘܬܐ) prepared for them[336]. While doing the works of charity they never enquire who deserves and who does not. 'Ministers of the body' (ܫܡܫܝ ܦܓܪܐ), the 'Upright' are those who minister to the needy with food and clothing, and thus, they serve Our Lord physically as Abraham[337] and Martha [338] did. As the Father's love shines over both the good and the evil[339], they follow the footsteps of Abraham[340] and simply give to the needy, especially for those who belong to «the household of faith»[341]. Nevertheless, possession of property, engagement in charitable works, commercial transactions, *etc*.

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[334] Cf. PS III, 77^{2-12}(3,14).

[335] Cf. PS III, 45-60(3,1-7).

[336] Cf. Matt 25:34; PS III, 48^{21}-49^{2}(3,2).

[337] Cf. Gen 18:1-8.

[338] Cf. Luke 10:38-42. PS III, 73^{25}-76^{3}(3,13):

ܕ ܫܡܥ̈ܘܢ ܕܟܕ ܡܪܬܐ ܫܡܫ ܠܡܪܢ ܒܠܒܘܫ ܘܒܡܟܠ̈ܐ ܠܗ ܘܠܟܠ ܗܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܘܢ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܝ ܐܙܠܬ ܒܫܘܪܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܠܐ ܣܒܠܬ ܨܠܒܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܟܕ ܐܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܠ̈ܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܢܘ ܕ

prevent them from devoting themselves to heavenly things. Living in the midst of the world, they have their own rule and discipline to follow. They are ready to follow the exhortation of the Lord to do active charity such as feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, visiting the sick and prisoner, *etc*.[342] They are worldly merchants[343] who meet the physical needs of the poor and provide things to meet the daily needs of the religious leaders of the community[344]. Continually reminded of the possibility of ascent to the level of Perfection, «the Upright work to create an ascetic lifestyle in the midst of a non-ascetic society, to a degree that still challenges the Church today»[345]. Even though they will not attain the major portion Jesus prepared for the Perfect[346], the Upright will be given their portion; they will find mercy, will be delivered and saved[347].

1.4.3 The Heavenly Ministry

The *KM* speaks about the duty of Adam while he was in his original state as: «Above, serve and glorify by these deeds, as a watcher among the watchers»[348]. Here it speaks about Adam's 'heavenly ministry' (ܫܘܬܦܐ ܫܡܝܐ). What would Adam have to do as a watcher? We have a detailed narration[349] of the 'work of the angels' (ܦܘܠܚܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ)[350]. They are not anxious about earthly needs and do not cultivate on earth. Instead «with the word of Our Lord they admonish everyone»[351] and they are continually in God's presence and 'minister to his majesty' (ܡܫܡܫܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܗ)[352]. Hence, the service that Adam has to render above is nothing else but the praise of God. But Adam failed to continue it forever. He transgressed the will of God. Hence, God provided him a lower visible ministry in the likeness of the heavenly one.

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[342] Cf. PS III, 49[1-16](3,2); S. BEGGIANI, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Spirituality*, 30.
[343] Cf. PS III, 305[2-7](13,1).
[344] Cf. PS III, 308[22-26](13,2).
[345] R.A. KITCHEN, «Conflict on the Stairway to Heaven», 23.
[346] PS III, 49[21-25](3,3).
[347] Cf. PS III, 49[22](3,3).
[348] PS III, 592[9-11](21,3): ܫܒܘ ܒܟ ܫܒܘ ܒܫܡ ܫܟܝܢ ܒܠܚܕ ܡܫܡܫ ܩܕܡ ܠܟ ܠܥܠ
[349] Cf. PS III, 752[7-16](25,8).
[350] PS III, 752[7](25,8).
[351] PS III, 752[10-11](25,8): ܒܠܥܠ ܒܡܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܥܡ ܟܠܚܕ
[352] PS III, 752[12](25,8).

> Because those of the house of Adam went astray by violating the commandments concerning the heavenly ministry, which they used to fulfill like angels and together with the angels, God gave them the visible ministry on earth in the likeness of that heavenly one[353].

The anticipation of that heavenly ministry is still possible to those who ardently desire it. To those who renounce every earthly possession and becomes the «Perfect», Our Lord shows this heavenly ministry.

> But now, ever since Our Lord has been reconciled to whoever of the children of Adam desires to minister in heaven in the spirit, Our Lord shows anew; that is, to anyone who obeys his words and leaves the earth and all that is visible behind him, following in knowledge him who leads day by day, for when such a person has come to know this visible ministry shows him the hidden and heavenly ministry[354].

In one place the example of Moses is presented as a person who is taught by God himself about these mysteries so that he could teach others. God said to Moses:

> Go down; show to the Israelites on the physical earth everything that I have shown to you. Show them the whole ministry of the spirit physically as I have shown it to you on the mountain spiritually. In this way, show them first in the body and then in the spirit; teach those who wish to serve in the heavenly tabernacle how to minister in heaven and show those who wish to serve in the earthly tabernacle how to serve on earth[355].

Even though the perfect can anticipate this heavenly service and participate in it through his mind, the fulfilment is in heaven.

> we shall live forever and ever in that free great heavenly Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܚܪܝܪܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ), and in that altar that is adorned and erected by the Spirit, before which the angels minister and all the saints, and Jesus celebrates and offers up before them, and above them and on all their sides[356].

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[353] PS III, 800[15-20](28,9):
ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܝܢ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܕܥܒܪܘ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܥܡ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܢܚܬ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܓܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܒܓܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܪܝܫ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܗܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܓܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܗܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܓܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܒܥܝ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܠܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܫܡܫ ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܪܥ

1.5 *At the Level of the Ministry of the Church*

The systematic theology of the Church at three levels presented in the twelfth *mēmrā* 'On the Hidden and Visible Ministry of the Church' (ܚܠ ܡܫܠܝܐ ܘ ܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܠ)[357] invites us to understand the individual's spiritual growth in terms of one's participation in ecclesial life. Gradation is based on the subjective experience of the faithful. In the *KM*, the triple gradation is clear and well defined only in the case of narrations about the Church. Here the Church is presented at three levels: the 'visible Church' (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܫܬܐ) which is public, the 'Church of the heart' (ܡܫܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ) which is hidden or secret and the 'heavenly Church' (ܕܥܠܝܐ ܡܫܬܐ) which is above, (the last two are invisible). The contrast is actually between the visible and the invisible, *i.e.* the public life of the Church and its interior life[358]. They are not opposite realities. Visible things serve as guides to invisible realities and the visible ministry fosters the interior growth of the faithful. As R. Murray observes, «the relationship of the original paradise, the time of the Church (with the life of the ascetics in it) and the eschatological Paradise is not of interest in its historical sequence; the way is an ascetical process, not the journey of God's creatures through history»[359].

1.5.1 The Visible Church (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܫܬܐ)

The visible Church refers to the level of the Church which is revealed to all[360]. No special requirement is needed to see this public Church and its worship with its public temple, public altar, public priesthood and visible Baptism. The Church at this level is there to initiate everybody into the divine mystery. The Upright who are the followers of the minor Commandments «which are given to all» and who are entrusted with physical ministry for the needy (in present terminology, the laity) probably belong to the visible level of the Church. Through her public and

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[357] Cf. PS III, 285-304(12,1-7). As Murray comments, this *mēmrā* is unique in many ways: «There is nothing like it in all early Syriac literature, though there exists recognizable echoes after it», R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 263. By 'echoes' Murray means the parallel visions of Church in the *KM* with that of *Homilies* of Pseudo-Macarius and *Hymn* of the Chorepiscopus Balai (*HQennešrin*). For a brief comparative study, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 269-274.

[358] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 275.

[359] R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 262.

[360] Cf. PS III, 292^{1-2}(12,2).

institutional structures, she manifests the invisible presence of the glorious resurrected Christ and the eschatological realization of His Heavenly Kingdom. The ministry of the Church on earth has its importance in the level of anticipation of these heavenly mysteries. It can be considered a door to participate in the heavenly liturgy[361]. But the active participation in the earthly liturgy is a training to achieve interior spiritual growth. The author describes the ministry of the visible Church as this training program to foster the 'Church of the heart' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ).

1.5.2 The Church of the Heart (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)

While being in the bosom of this visible Church, her children – the faithful – receive formation from her, to penetrate her visibility and to enter into the invisible mysteries. The result of this training is expressed through the image of «the Church of the heart» – the interior Church[362] – on which the faithful offers their personal sacrifice[363]. There, one's total existence becomes worship[364] which is repeatedly expressed in this *mēmrā* with the phrase, «the body becomes a hidden temple and the heart a hidden altar»[365]. It is for the sake of this interior growth that the visible Church, as a loving and wise mother, brings up her children. While still part of the 'mystical body' of Christ, the visible Church, the worshipper can cultivate «the Church of the heart» within himself. He ascends from the level of visible ministry to the level of the hidden ministry of the heart, and then the heavenly Church descends to the level of his heart. Thus, he anticipates eschatological glory. His heart penetrates the visible to see the invisible: he can go back to the state of Adam before his sin, restored by the Resurrected Christ. He participates in the glorified humanity of Christ which is already enthroned in heaven before the Father.

1.5.3 The Church of Heaven (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ)

This is the true Church; the eschatological perfection and the final destination of the way to the Perfection. The author narrates the ineffable

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[361] Cf. PS III, 288^{25}-289^{4}(12,2).

[362] Cf. R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 60.

[363] Cf. PS III, 289^{8-16}(12,2).

[364] Cf. R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 60.

[365] PS III, 288^{4-5}(12,1): ܗܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܒܠܒܐ ܗܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ, cf. *Ibid.*, 288^{23-26}(12,2). Here the terms ܗܝܟܠܐ and ܡܕܒܚܐ translated as 'temple' and 'altar' need our special attention.

blessing that is received by the person who enters into the heavenly Church.

> Blessed is whoever has entered that heavenly Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܥܕܬܐ) upon which Our Lord shines visibly (ܡܢܗܪ ܠܗ ܡܪ ܒܓܠܝ), just as this visible Sun (ܫܡܫܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ) shines upon this visible (ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܥܕܬܐ) Church and upon these temples of the body (ܘܥܠ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ). How many times will this sun set on these? The light of the face of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (ܢܗܘܪ ܦܢܝ ܡܪܢ ܘܡܦܫܚܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫ ܡܢ) does not depart from that [Church] that is above. For even if Our Lord is everywhere he is clearly visible in that heavenly Church[366].

The final fulfilment of God's purpose is hidden in the heavens. But at the same time, the visible Church is a sign of this and is capable of being interiorized or taken into the heart of the individual. Hence, final achievement and present achievement through anticipation are seen as complementary, and not contradictory[367]. We know well that Church is never three. But the gradation exists in the capacity of the believer to access this divine mystery. The following table summarizes the major tripartite approaches of the author of the *KM*. It is too easy to infer that he used different metaphors to explain the same fact.

SUMMARY OF THE TRIPLE GRADATED APPROACHES IN THE *KM*

ܬܫܡܫܬܐ The Uprightness	ܬܫܠܡܘܬܐ The Perfection	The state beyond Perfection
ܦܩܕܢ ܕܥܘܠܡ Minor Commandments	ܦܩܕܢ ܪܒܐ Major Commandments	The state beyond the Laws
ܚܠܒ ܘܩܛܢܝ Milk and Vegetables	ܡܙܘܢܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ Solid food	The Eschatological food
ܫܘܬܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ The Physical Ministry	ܫܘܬܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ The Spiritual Ministry	ܫܘܬܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ The Heavenly Ministry
ܥܕܬܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ The Visible Church	ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ The Church of the Heart	ܥܕܬܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ The Heavenly Church

[366] PS III, 301[15-24](12,7).
[367] D.J. LANE, «The Book of Grades or Steps», 84.

2. The Thought Behind Gradations

Now this section is going to study whether the presentation of realities with gradations is a pattern of thought unique to the *KM* or the author was influenced by his living context. The land where the *KM* is written is assumed to be the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, which contained a rigorously ascetic culture and served as a highly receptive ground for the Gospel message. The character of the Christianity which evolved in that region was influenced by the various elements of the native culture, geographical, historical and political peculiarities which we have already mentioned in the first chapter. Surely certain men of great religious and spiritual force and several sects who shared the milieu influenced Christianity of the region[368]. Hence, different patterns of severe asceticism became a part of the normal character of primitive Syriac Christianity.

This document, too, depicts a community, which in general, strives to ascend spiritually, but certain tendencies develop within that community which deviate from the main streams by practising a more radical life. The main criteria which separate the mainstream group «Upright» from the radical group «Perfect» is their attachment to the world through marriage, possessions, and labour. So a trend was there in the primitive Christians of Syria to detach themselves from these three elements. An ancient document which speaks about the beginnings of Christianity in Adiabene, the *Doctrine of Addai*[369] presents the then community of Syria as an ascetically oriented one keeping a strict observance of poverty without possessing things of this material world[370]. Again we can see certain remarks about the

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[368] Marcion and his community were in first place. For their influence on Christianity, cf. A. VON HARNACK, *L'évangile du Dieu*, 179-256; A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 13-15. Valentinus and his sect also found much space in this region. In Aphrahat we have a reference about them. Cf. PS I, 116[7](III,9).

[369] For the bibliographical as well as other details of the *Doctrine of Addai*, see f.no. 285 in Chap.1, p. 63.

[370] Addai always refused gifts from anybody, cf. *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, G. PHILLIPS, ed.– tr., ܝ. Pleased by hearing the preaching of Addai, the King wanted to give him silver and gold. But Addai refused them saying that:

ܡܢܐ ܐܩܒܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܗܫܐ ܐܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܦܩܕܢ ܡܪܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܟܝܣ ܘܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܒܝ ܘܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܒܝ ܐܦ ܕܟܪܝܙܝܢ ܒܟܬܦܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܒܫܪܐ ܠܡܟܪܙ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܟܝܣ ܘܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܒܝ ܘܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܒܝ ܐܦ ܕܟܪܝܙܝܢ ܒܟܬܦܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܒܫܪܐ ܠܡܟܪܙ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܡܫܕܐ

«How can I receive anything which is not ours? Now behold we have left that which is ours as were commanded by Our Lord that we should be without purses and without wallets. While bearing crosses upon our shoulders we were commanded to preach his Gospel in all creations», *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, G. PHILLIPS, ed.– tr., ܘ; English

practice of virginity in the community as: «All the *qyāmā* of men and women were modest and decorous and they were holy (ܩܕܝܫܝܢ) and pure (ܙܟܝܐ), and they dwelt singly (ܒܚܕܝܢ) and modestly without spot, in watchfulness of the ministry decorously»[371]. Certain indications about a kind of detachment from physical labour for the elected group are also notable[372]. Hence, it is possible to infer that like this document, the *KM* too shared a common milieu which was embedded with similar thoughts and practices. The following section deals about the possible influences on the author of the *KM* which paved the way to see the realities in gradation.

2.1 *Influence of Asceticism Headed by Virginity*

In the *KM* the emphasis on virginity marks the identity of the Perfect. The major barrier of the Upright to ascend to the Perfection is also their difficulty in keeping virginity. Here an understanding of the real sense of

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trans., *The Teaching of Addai*, G. Howard, tr., 17. Again when Abgar sent costly garments to Addai for his burial he refused it saying that:

ܠܐ ܚܫܝܫ ܥܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܩܒܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܟܬܒ ܒܫܩܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܠܐ
ܡܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܬܣܒ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ ܬܩܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܒܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܩܪ ܒܝ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܝܕܝܟ

«Not in my life have I taken from you anything, and I will not falsify in me the word of Christ, which He said to me: ‘Receive not anything from man, and acquire not anything in this world’». *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle,* G. PHILLIPS, ed.– tr., ܟܓ. In a different occasion Addai advised the new partakers of ministry to be ‘diligent to give the sign of Baptism’ (ܟܬܝܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܬܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ) and ‘do not desire the possessions of this world’ (ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ,ܡܐܘܡܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ), cf. *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle,* G. PHILLIPS, ed.–tr., ܠܐ.

[371] *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle,* G. PHILLIPS, ed.– tr., ܟ:

ܒܢܝܬ ܒܢܝܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܡ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܘܙܟܝܐ ܘܒܚܕܝܢ ܘܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܚܝܝܟ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܚܝܝܟ

Phillips translated *qyāmā* as «chiefs» who are depicted in a way, which provides much similarity with that of the ‘Perfect’ *i.e. gmīrā* of the *KM*. By the term *qyāmā*, he intends most distinguished persons of both the sexes. See the foot note «a» in *Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle,* G. PHILLIPS, ed.–tr., 47.

[372] See words of Addai the Apostle to his new partakers in the ministry:

ܬܗܝܢ ܓܫܡܝܟܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܘܢܦܫܬܟܘܢ ܙܟܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܩܐܡܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܘܒܗܕܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝܬܘ ܠܟ. ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܠܚܘܕܗ ...ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܟܘܢ
ܟܠ ܝܘܡܝ ܚܝܝܟܘܢ ܕܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܟܘܢ

«Let your bodies be pure, and let your persons be holy, as is right for men who stand before the altar of God … And with this ministry to which you have been called, let there not be for you another service; for the Lord himself is the service of your ministry all the days of your life». *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle,* G. PHILLIPS, ed.–tr., 33-34; *The Teaching of Addai,* G. Howard, tr., ܠܐ; English trands., *Ibid.*, 73.

virginity in the early ascetic Syrian tradition[373] is needed. The concept of virginity can receive a broad meaning wider than a mere sexual continence[374]. It intends a perfect purity in Christ[375] that applies to all Christians married and single. It is an integral disposition of a person to achieve the unity, *i.e. īḥīdāyūtā*[376] with God. The separation from marital relations in itself is nothing. But the distractions involved in them separate one from the perfect unity with God. It is very clear in Aphrahat:

> When man has not yet taken a wife he loves and honours God his father and the Holy Spirit his mother, and he has no other love; and when man takes a wife he abandons his father and his mother, those previously mentioned, and his mind is captured by this world, and his mind and his heart and his thought are dragged from God into the world[377].

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[373] Prior to 4th cent., there did not seem to be a major role for virginity in the life of Syrian Christians. Few texts from first three centuries mention the word virginity explicitly but as a concept of wider meaning than the present immediate significance. As S. Abouzayd observes, for the Syrian Christians, «marriage did not annihilate virginity; rather virginity was maintained by Christian marriage and was unspoiled by the purity of holy marriage partners», cf. S. ABOUZAYD, «Virginity in the Early Ascetic Syrian Tradition», 139.

[374] In the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, Ignatius of Antioch considers the 'virginity of Mary' (ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας) as a mystery in *Eph.* XIX, 1, cf. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Epistula ad Ephesios*, English trans., *Epistle to the Ephesians*, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic Fathers*, 197. Again in *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* he calls widows as virgins. See *Smyrn.* XIII, 1: «I greet the households of my brothers with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows (Ἀσπάσζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας)», IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Epistula ad Smyrnaeos*, English trans., *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic Fathers*, 261. Féghali brings out certain testimonies about the Maronite tradition which considered married woman as virgins if they could keep faithfulness in their marriage, cf. J. FÉGHALI, *Histoire du droit de l'église maronite*, I, 67.

[375] By analysing various ancient Syriac literatures S. Abouzayd remarks that according to ancient Syriac tradition even the holy marriage blessed by God did not abolish the purity of virginity, but rather preserve it as long as it was not an excuse for lust or exploitation, cf. S. ABOUZAYD, *Ihidayutha*, 47-48.

[376] It derives from the root ܝܚܕ which means 'to unite' or 'to connect' , cf. Sokollof, 571.

[377] PS I, 840[10-18](XVIII,10):

ܗ ܡܬܝ ܟܕ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܪܚܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܡܗ ܘܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܘܒ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܩܕܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܫܒܩ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܩܕܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܘܐܬܚܛܦ ܒܗ ܠܒܗ ܕܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܬܓܪ ܠܒܗ ܘܪܥܝܘܗܝ ܘܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܓܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܘܡܬܝ ܟܕ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܫܒܩ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܩܕܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܘܐܬܚܛܦ ܒܗ ܠܒܗ ܕܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܬܓܪ ܠܒܗ ܘܪܥܝܘܗܝ ܘܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܓܪܝܢ ܗܘ ❖ܐܡܪ

A similar thought is there in the *KM*:

> This is the Perfect road: A virgin who does not marry a man and a man who does not take a wife are pleasing to Our Lord in body and in spirit, while those who do marry please one another[378].

For Aphrahat virginity is the original state of creation, which contains the power of God to bring out life without external assistance[379]. Aphrahat says that «before the seed was sown in the earth, it produced that which had not been cast into it. Before it had conceived, it bore in its virginity... Adam however, unsown sprang up; unconceived he was born»[380]. He says in a different instance, «When the earth was virgin it was not rendered unclean... Adam in his virginity was beloved and good»[381]. Hence according to Aphrahat, not the marriage which was established by God at the beginning of creation, but the lust of Eve destroyed virginity[382].

We have plenty of primitive Christian writings which praise asceticism headed by virginity. Let us see a few of them. In the *Odes of Solomon* (ܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ)[383] we can see the personification of virginity who exhorts the sons and daughters of men to put it on for achieving incorruption in the new world[384]. In the *Acts of Thomas*[385] there is an

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[378] PS III, 476[24]-477[3](19,15):
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܒܥܠ ܐܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܠܡܪܝ ܥܠܡ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܣܒܝܢ ܐܢ ܒܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܕܕ ܥܠ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ

episode narrated in the Act I, where Jesus advises the bride (ܟܠܬܐ) and groom (ܚܬܢܐ), while sitting with them in the bridal chamber (ܒܝܬ ܚܕܪܐ) to keep themselves away from the filthy intercourse (ܟܐܪܐ ܕܟܐܦܘܬܐ) to become pure temples (ܗܝܟܠ ܕܩܕܫ) and thus to be saved from afflictions manifest and hidden (ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܙܝܢ ܘܟܣܝܡ ܕܐܝܬ) and from the heavy care of the children (ܘܡܢ ܕܐܝܓܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ)[386]. Hearing Our Lord's advice, they were ready to leave intercourse. The reason that was put in the mouth of the bride is significant in ecclesiology. She is told that she is invited to the true wedding feast (ܠܐ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܣܥܘܕܬܐ) and betrothed to the true husband (ܠܐ ܕܐܬܪܨܕ ܠܒܥܠܐ)[387].

Two ascetical letters attributed to Clement of Rome (†99 AD), *On Virginity*[388] speak about the virgins of both the sexes[389] and say that they

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ܗܝ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܫܠܡܬܐ ... ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܬܘܒܘ ܐܢ ܒܢܬܟܘܢ ܐܬܝ ܘܫܒܘܩܘ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܕܗܝ ܡܚܒܠܐ ... ܘܐܢ ܐܢ ܥܠ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܥܠ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܬܬܒܥܠ ܠܐ ܢܬܬܒܥܠ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܬܒܥܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ

«However the perfect virgin (ܗܝ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܫܠܡܬܐ) stood / who was preaching and calling and saying / O you sons of men return/and you their daughters come / And leave the ways of that corruptor/and approach me. And I will enter into you / and bring you forth from destruction / and make you wise in the ways of truth /... And they who have put me on shall not be falsely accused/but they shall possess incorruption in the new world», *The Odes of Solomon* , J.H. CHARLESWORTH, ed. – tr., 119-120.

[385] The apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* were composed between the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In Syriac text we see the title as «Acts of Judas Thomas (ܡܥܫܝܗܝ ܕܬܘܡܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܢ).

They describe the mission of the Apostle Thomas in India. According to this work, the Apostle preaches an ascetical or encratic form of Christianity in India. For their Syriac text and English translation, cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, Syriac Text, vol. 1, ܥܠ – ܡܚ (172-333), English trans., *Ibid*., II, 146-298. There is a later English translation with commentary, cf. *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn.

[386] Cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܡܐ (180)[19]- ܡܒ (181)[8]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 154-155; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 52-53. The word ܒܥܝ originated from ܥܝ means 'to take care', 'be anxious about', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 195. In Luke 10:38-42 we see a similar scene: sitting at the feet of Jesus, Mary was hearing His words while Martha was in worries. However, there the anxiety of Martha was denoted by a different word ܦܠܓ from the root ܦܠܓ , cf. Payne Smith, 419.

[387] Cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܡܓ (183)[6-9]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 157; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 57.

[388] Even though the *Letters On Virginity* (ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܒܬܘܠܝܬܐ) are attributed to Clement of Rome, scholars believe that they were composed in the late 3rd or early 4th cent., from somewhere in a Syro-Palestinian environment. For a brief study and bibliographical

preserve «virginity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven»[390] and it depicts the virgins as a «beautiful image to believers and those who shall believe»[391]. In order to be saved, it exhorts virgins to do work appropriate to their virginity. If not, such virginity (ܒܬܘܠܝܘܬܐ) is foolish (ܣܟܠܬܢ) and impure (ܛܢܦܐ)[392]. True virginity «stands constantly at all seasons before God, and does not withdraw from His service and is anxious how it may please its Lord with a holy body and with its spirit»[393]. It is noteworthy that the virginity is described as a «great and noble profession (ܡܗܝ ܡܗܢܕܣܐ ܡܗܥܒܕ»[394]. The 'noble task of virginity' (ܡܗܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܬܘܠ ܫܠܝܫܝ ܡܗܥܒܕ) is compared to a 'war' (ܩܪܒ) and those who strive in the might of the Holy Spirit will be 'crowned with a crown of light' (ܟܠܝܠ ܕܢܗܪ ܒܫܡܝܐ), and will be led to 'Jerusalem above' (ܠܘܬ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ). The crown of virginity demands great toil, but the 'glory of virginity' (ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܫܒܘܚܗ) is 'great, exalted and excellent' (ܪܒܐ ܘܡܬܝܠ ܘܝܩܪ)[395]. Virginity is presented as a must to be a Christian. If you want to be a Christian, you have to put on Christ, who put on (flesh) from a holy virgin (ܠܒܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ)[396].

In a Syriac homily attributed to Isaac of Antioch (5th cent.) the relationship between baptism and virginity is narrated in a way to throw

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details, cf. J. W. CHILDERS, «Clement of Rome», 100-101. This study use *I De Virg.* and *II De Virg.* to indicate the 1st and 2nd letters respectively.

[389] He addresses them as blessed brother virgins (ܒܬܘܠ ܐܚܐ) and holy sister virgins (ܒܬܘܠ ܩܕܝܫ), cf. *I De Virg*., 1 in Beelen, 4; English trans., ANF VIII, 55.

[390] «ܐܝܬ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ», *I De Virg*., 1, in Beelen, 4; English trans., ANF VIII, 55. This first epistle narrates the angelic life of the virgins. See relevant passages: «God will give to virgins the kingdom of heaven so as to the holy angels (ܠܐ ܡܬܥ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܬܘܠ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܒܬܘܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ)», *I De Virg*., 4, in Beelen, 20; English trans., ANF VIII, 56. Again we read, «He will give to virgins a notable place in the house of God (ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܬܪ ܟܒܝܪ), which is something better than sons and daughters (ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܘܒܢܬܐ) and better than the place of those who have passed a wedded life in sanctity (ܒܬܘܠ ܐܢ ܒܬܘܠ ܒܩܕܫܐ)», *I De Virg*., 4, in Beelen, 18.20; English trans., ANF VIII, 56.

[391] *I De Virg.*, 3, in Beelen, 10:

ܐܡܪ ܒܬܘܠ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܬܘܠ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܬܘܠ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ

lights on the significance of virginity in Syriac spirituality. It explains that the original virginity of man which has been lost can be restored by Baptism[397].

It is clear that the practice of virginity is to bring back the mind and heart from being caught by the world to have total purity in Christ. Hence, physical virginity got a place in asceticism not as the imitation of the celibacy of Christ, but as the best weapon to fight against the sin of Adam, which aims at the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven promised at the baptism[398].

2.2 *Emergence of Dualistic groups*

From the very beginning, among the Syriac Christians, certainly there existed people who took an individual commitment to celibacy. But they were not the only baptized Christians in the Syriac Church. In clear words celibacy was never a requirement for baptism[399]. Till the 4th cent. AD there were no organized predecessors of the monastic way of life to which celibates could belong. Hence in the early Syriac Church devout celibacy was not yet a central tenet. From the fourth century onwards, when asceticism paved its way to monasticism, the physical aspect of virginity started to receive a higher place. Emphasis on virginity resulted in the emergence of dualistic tendencies in the believing community. Asceticism in the Syriac Orient expanded quickly in several ways and an asceticism headed by virginity in its literal sense ruled many groups.

Among the primitive Syriac Christian communities, a strong current of thought emerging, for which marriage and procreation, which were at the

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[397] *Homiliæ S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni*, P. BEDJAN, ed., 684[6-11]:

ܟܠܡܬ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܐܡܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܕܪ ܠܝ ܘܢܒܢܐ ܠܝ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܬܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܢܬܚܒܪ ܥܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܛܪ ܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܛܝܦܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܘܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܠܚܬܢܐ ܗܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܕܪ ܠܟ ܘܡܒܢܐ ܠܟ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܬܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܢܬܚܒܪ ܥܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܛܪ ܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܛܝܦܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܘܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܠܚܬܢܐ ܗܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܕܪ ܠܟ ܘܡܒܢܐ ܠܟ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ

«Before you become needy and you say the word of a penitent: Who is the one who can pull me down and rebuild me, and make me a virgin again? The person who comes to baptism to be associated with the Holy Spirit keeps away his limbs from dirt, for you have made them white for the wedding feast. Here is Christ who pulls you down and rebuilds you again, and He makes you a virgin once again. Hold on to the mark in honour and your renewal is in faith».

Many relevant passages from this homily are quoted by S. Abouzayd in his article, cf. S. ABOUZAYD, «Virginity in the Early Ascetic Syrian Tradition», 144-146.

[398] Cf. PS I, 265[3]-269[26](VI,6); 356[6-27](VII,25).

[399] Cf. S. ABOUZAYD, *Ihidayutha*, 101.

heart of the human condition at that time, were not contemplated in the original, divine plan of humanity, although they were later granted by the one God, Creator and Saviour[400]. The determinant cause of these activities was the sin of the first humans; therefore, they were seen as later, secondary realities within humanity's condition and a sign of humanity's painful fall and loss of angelic, original perfection and integrity»[401]. The influence of Mani, Marcion, Tatian, Valentinans and several other encratic groups formed a radical group who considered total abstinence to be an unavoidable precept for every Christian; some others took a moderate position to consider celibacy as a requirement to become the perfect Christian[402] or to have full membership in the Church[403]. The persons who did not have enough courage to make this radical choice but were still interested in the Christian message were to remain as a subordinate group in the Church[404]. Gradually a tendency to place the community of faithful on two levels emerged in Syriac Christianity.

Because of the historical and geographical context of the Church of the Syrian Orient, the communities developed were not homogeneous in character. Due to their radical ascetical approaches, some formed certain sects and moved parallel to the Great Church. But we cannot neglect the echoes of their thoughts that resounded within the Church for several centuries. Since the mid-fourth century, Syrian Christian asceticism shared the milieu of many such dualistic groups. Scholarly attempts are there to look at the possibility of placing the «Perfect» and the «Upright» of the *KM* associated with any one of such groups. Let us see the principal movements that shaped the then Syriac Christian world which was ascetic in itself[405] and which paved their way towards a gradated community depicted in the *KM*.

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[400] The best example is the *KM*. See Chap. II, section «1.1.2 c) + Marriage».

[401] Cf. G.S. GASPARRO, «Asceticism», 138.

[402] Cf. G.S. GASPARRO, «Asceticism», 129-130.

[403] The origin and development of «sexual renunciation» as the sign of holiness in Christendom is well treated by P. Brown and he give much space to its influence in Syriac world too, cf. P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, 323-328. The study of the influence of Encratites and Gnostics behind the rigorous sexual abstinence and renunciation practiced by many to achieve so called «true Christian life» is beyond the scope of this study. We have many relevant studies on it. We just use the fruits of their efforts, cf. F. BEATRICE, «Continenza e matrimonio nel Christianesimo primitivo», 43-47; A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 18-22; ID., *History of Asceticism*, III, 45-54.

[404] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 5.

[405] For the detailed narrative of various movements that moulded the Syriac Christian communities during the first centuries cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 11-20.

2.2.1 The Manichean Influence

The two leveled Manichean Church, the «Elect» and the «Hearers» bear considerable resemblance to the «Perfect» and «Upright» of the *KM*. R.A. Kitchen analyzed the Manichean text *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*[406]. Like the Perfect, the «Elect» are virgins, the teachers of society and keep away from the active ministry. They are also wandering ascetics. The «Hearers», like «the Upright» are allowed to marry and be involved in business. They are in some ways like servants of the Elect; providing food, shelter and financial support for them[407]. Even though they do provide support for their priest and the Perfect, such a «subservient» behaviour is never exhibited by «the Upright» towards «the Perfect». Despite the similarities of the structure, Kitchen sees radical differences between the depictions of the two dichotomies. For him:

> It appears that in terms of conscious intellectual faith and practices there is nothing to link Mani and his religion with the faith of the LG. The structure of the Elect / Hearers is strikingly similar in its framework to that of the Perfect / Upright, though in most situations there are differences in detail and content. Mani may have provided a set of cultural patterns for the Syriac church in the geographical area of the LG - or at least have contributed to the development of these patterns. But by the era of LG it is apparent that the author of the LG has been able to "demythologise" these hierarchical structures and adapt them to its own needs and situation[408].

There exist many literary similarities between the *KM* and the Manichean Psalms. After his thorough analysis of these two corpuses, T. Pettipiece says that we cannot neglect the existence of a 'common spiritual font'. For him, from that source «both texts make effective use of simile and metaphor, often employing imagery drawn from the Sasanian royal court – which, as we've seen, formed part of their common political milieu»[409]. Hence, there are ample reasons to infer that the anonymous teacher of the *Book of Steps* knew something about Manichaeans and therefore that Perfect and the Upright of his work could have been

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[406] The original work is in Coptic. For the English translation and commentary, cf. I. GARDNER, ed., *The Kephalaia*.

[407] I. GARDNER, ed., *The Kephalaia*, 201-241; E.G. FARRUGIA, «Manicheism», 1193-1195.

[408] Cf. R.A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection*, 105.

[409] T. PETTIPIECE, «Parallel Paths», 39.

modelled on a Manichaean precedent, although based upon a different rationale[410].

2.2.2 The Marcionite Influence

The Marcionites have also shared the same milieu. Their communities consisted of celibates. R. Roux noted that the key terms in the *KM* stuck closely to those used by Marcion. For Marcion, God of the OT is 'Just One' (ܟܝܢܐ – *kēnā*)[411]. In mentioning the OT laws and the behavior of Demiurge's followers he used the term ܟܝܢܘܬܐ or ܟܝܢܝܐ. The ideal state intended by Marcion, ܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ / *gmīrūtā* is exactly same as that of the *KM*[412]. The difference is not in the terms but what in the attitude towards them. While Marcion rejected and opposed ܟܝܢܘܬܐ / *kēnūtā*, the *KM* defended and gives them important space in the work. As Roux says: «the interpretation given to the two categories of justice and perfection in the *Liber Graduum* turns out to be an orthodox alternative to the Marcionite opposites of the followers of the righteous God / the Demiurge and the followers of the good God»[413].

2.3 *Influence of Proto-Monastic Ascetic groups*

In Chapter I, it is already seen about the proto-monastic elite group *bnay qyāmā*[414] who had committed themselves to sexual abstinence and the service of the Church. Aphrahat the Persian sage explains the ascetical life pattern of the *bnay qyāmā* in his *Expositions*, especially in the *Exp*. VI[415]. We have many serious studies about their occurrences in ancient sources,

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[410] Cf. T. PETTIPIECE, «Parallel Paths», 35.

[411] «ܟܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܗ ,ܡܬܝܕܥ (The followers [of Marcion] therefore name our God 'the Just One')», EPHREM, *Against Marcion I*, in C.W. MITCHELL – A.A. BEVAN – F.C. BURKITT, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, II, 54[14-16]; English trans., *Ibid.*, xxv; cf. R. ROUX, «Antimarcionitica», 99.

[412] EPHREM, *Against Marcion I*, in C.W. MITCHELL – A.A. BEVAN – F.C. BURKITT, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, II, 56[29.34] (see f.no. 1 in page 56); English trans., xxvi.

[413] Cf. R. ROUX, «Antimarcionitica», 99.

[414] See Chap. I, section «2.5.9 A Reaction to the Fifth-century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism».

[415] The *Exp.* VI: ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ (*On bnay qyāmā*), cf. PS I, 239[1]-312[21](VI,1-20).

their place in the Church and their organic growth through the centuries[416]. Going into such details are beyond the scope of this study.

From certain passages in the *Exp.* VII of Aphrahat it seems that in his day baptism was reserved for those who consecrated themselves to Christ in virginity. The non-celibates remained as a second level without enjoying the participation in sacraments.

> I speak also to you who hold the trumpets: priests, scribes, and sages. Call out and say to all the people, 'Let he who is afraid turn back from the struggle, lest he cause his brother to become as disheartened as he is. And whoever has planted a vineyard let him return to cultivate it, lest he thinks of it in the war and suffers defeat. And whoever is betrothed to a woman and wishes to marry her, let him return and rejoice with his woman. And let the one who is building a house return to it, lest he calls it to mind and not fight [with] full [attention]. It is the single ones who are ready for the struggle, since they set their faces toward what is before them and do not call to mind what is behind them, for their treasures are before them, and whatever they plunder is for themselves; they will receive their reward abundantly[417].

This contradictory situation was studied by several later scholars. Some scholars focused only on the above-mentioned passages of *Exp.* VII and avoided the rest, while some others neglected this remarkable piece of *Exp.*

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[416] F. B. DIMITRIJ, «Qyāmā before Aphrahat», 65-81; R.H. CONNOLLY, «Aphraates and Monasticism», 522-539, ID., «St Ephraim and Encratism», 41-48; S.H. GRIFFITH, «Monks», 141-160; ID., «Asceticism in the Church of Syria», 223-229; S.A. HARVEY, «Revisiting the Daughters», 125-149; T. KOONAMMAKKAL, «Aphrahat on Ascetics», 233-242; M. MAUDE, «Who Were the B'nai Q'yâmâ?», 13-21; G. NEDUNGATT, «The Covenanters», 191-215; M. NIN, «Spiritual Trends», 219-232; A. VÖÖBUS, «Figli e figlie del Patto», 1494-1497; M-J. PIERRE, «Les "membres de l'Ordre"», 11-36; R.A. KITCHEN, «Bnay Qyāmā, Bnāt Qyāma», 84-85; M.T.S. ROSELIN, «The Spirituality of *Qyāmā*», [on-line publication], [accessed: 16.08.2014], http://dukhrana.in/the-spirituality-of-qyama-an-ideal-for-modern-monasticism/; S. ABOUZAYD, «Virginity in Aphrahat», 123-133; ID., *Ihidayutha*, 70-106.

[417] PS I, 341[12]-344[2](VII,18):

ܟ ܡܪܟ ܡܠܠ ܐܝܡܐ ܐܢ ܡܣܬܡ ܡܨܦ ܡܢ ܡܫܬ ܡܬܒ ܠܟ ܠܟ ܕ ܡܪܟ ܕܚܠ ܡܢ ܡܫܬ ܕܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܬ ܕ ܡܪܟ ܕܚܠ ܡܢ ܡܫܬ ܕ

VII and drew conclusions based on other *Expositions*[418]. F.C. Burkitt accepted the situation of *Exp.* VII as the practice of the Church of Aphrahat and put forward his thesis as: «In Aphraates Baptism is not a common seal of every Christian's life but a privilege reserved for celibates»[419]. Further, he explained that the Christian community is divided by Aphraates for practical purposes into two parts,[420] the *bnay qyāmā* and the penitents (ܟܬܝܐ)[421] *i.e.* he recognizes «two grades in the Christian ranks, the baptized celibate, and the unbaptized penitent»[422]. It underwent repeated reconsiderations and re-evaluations by others[423].

The *Expositions* VI[424] and VII[425], as well as their key terms ܟܢܝ ܡܥܡܕ and ܟܬܝܐ became the specimens for their textual analysis. Connolly questioned the thesis of Burkitt. For him ܟܬܝܐ can never be Catechumens. The 'penitance' (ܟܐܦܢܐ) is a «definite act or course of action, in which individuals who have been guilty of actual sin are exhorted to participate for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness of their sins»[426]. It is never presented as the «door to a higher grade of the Christian life than that which was before»[427]. Aphrahat describes it as a 'drug' (ܣܡܝܡܟܐ)[428] and even though unusual, he contemplates its possibility of repetition. So it cannot be remission of sin through baptism but can be 'a rite of Penance' by which those who committed scandalous sins were restored to fellowship in the Christian community[429]. Aphrahat even exhorts the *īḥīdāyē*, *bnay*

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[418] The bibliographical details of past contribution on this issue are there in A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 93-95; ID., *Celibacy*, 53-54.

[419] F.C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 125; cf. ID., *Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, 46-54.

[420] Cf. F.C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 133.

[421] The term ܟܬܝ derives from the root «ܬܘܒ» which means 'to return', 'to change one's nature', 'to repent', 'to forgive' *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1626, 1641.

[422] F.C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 137.

[423] R.H. Connolly argued against the thesis of Burkitt, cf. R.H. CONNOLLY, «Aphraates and Monasticism», 522-539. Burkitt wrote an article as a reply to Connolly, cf. F.C. BURKITT, «Aphraates and Monasticism. A Reply», 10-15. For a revised openion, cf. R. MURRAY, «The Exhortations», 59-80. For the details of the previous scholarship regarding the matter, cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 35-36.

[424] For *Exp.* VI, *On bnay qyāmā* (ܟܢܝ ܡܥܡܕ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ), cf. PS I, 239^{1}-312^{21}(VI,1-20).

[425] For *Exp.* VII, *On Penitents* (ܟܬܝܐ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܬܝ), cf. PS I, 313^{1}-360^{21}(VII,1-27).

[426] Cf. R.H. CONNOLLY, «Aphraates and Monasticism», 524.

[427] Cf. R.H. CONNOLLY, «Aphraates and Monasticism», 524.

[428] PS I, 316^{6}(VII,2).

[429] Cf. R.H. CONNOLLY, «Aphraates and Monasticism», 524.

qyāmā, *qaddīšē*, and *bṯulē*[430] to submit to penance[431]. So ܩܝܡܐ are not a distinct institution or grade, but can be anyone from the baptized community especially the fallen one from the *bnay qyāmā*. In Rabbula's Rules for *qyāmā*, it is very clear[432].

Vööbus did a Church historical study and a literary critical investigation of *Exp.* VII and suggested a key to the problem which has made the whole homily so enigmatic[433]. He discovered certain archaic marks[434] included in this specific problematic piece of *Exp.* VII and suggests a possibility that Aphrahat quotes some «authentic pieces taken from a source no less important than the primitive baptismal liturgy of Aramaean Christianity»[435].

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[430] In our study we have already mentioned these terms, see Chap. I, section «2.5.9 A Reaction to the Fifth-century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism». These four terms are the epithets applied to *bnay qyāmā* by Aphrahat. Even though Aphrahat uses all of them in one breath, practically synonymous in intent. All of them are applied to the same individual, *i.e.* 'the man on whom the yoke is laid'. See PS I, 272[20]-273[2](VI,8):
ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܥܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܚܬܝܢ ܐܢ ܒܬܘܠ ܐܢ ܩܕܝܫ ܐܢ ܒܥܠ ܝܘܩܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܡܫܬܐܠ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܟܬܒܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܕܠ ܒܨܘܡܐ ܘܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܘܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܬܠܗܒ ܒܚܒܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܬܪܥܝ ܘܡܬܟܢܝ ܘܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܬܟܢܝ ܘܡܬܝܕܥ ܒܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܟܬܒܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܟܬܒܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ❖

«Hear then, my beloved, to that which I write to you, concerning what is appropriate for single ones, covenanters, virgins, and holy ones. Before all things, the man on whom the yoke is laid ought to have a firm faith as I wrote to you in the first epistle; that he should be zealous in fasting and prayer; that he should be fervent in the love of Christ; and should be humble, moderate and reasonable». The English translation given above is slightly modified from that of Lehto, cf. *The Demonstrations*, tr. A. Lehto, 210-211.

[431] Cf. PS I, 356[6]-357[7](VII,25).

[432] Rule no. 29:
ܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ ܘܒܢܬ ܩܝܡܐ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܡܢ ܕܪܓܬܗܘܢ ܢܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܓܘ ܒܡܢܙܪܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܒܡܢܙܪܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܩܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܬܕܠܝܢ ܥܡ ܐܒܗܬܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ❖

«The *bnay qyāmā* and the *bnat qyāmā*, who have fallen from their rank send into monasteries for repentance; but although they stay in the monastery they shall not be received in the Church, but be suspended with their parents as long as it is right», RABBULA, «Commandments and the Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the *Bnay Qyāmā*», 44.

[433] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 55.

[434] It the *Exp.* VII, in this specific section while speaking about official persons Aphrahat used the terms «ܟܗܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܘܚܟܝܡܐ (priests, scribes and sages)», PS I, 341[13](VII,18). However, in the *Exp.* XIV addressed to Mesopotamian Bishops, he used different terms, *viz.*, «ܩܫܝܫܐ ܩܠܐ ܘܫܡܫܢܐ (bishops, presbyters and deacons)», PS I, 573[4](XIV,1). According to Vööbus the latter usage may be the contemporary one, while the former one the archaic usage kept in some old document, cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 53-54.

[435] A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 58.

He finds no problem in using such liturgical texts[436] even after the radical change happened in the Church to give Baptism to all including the married ones. He also witnesses the same style of usages in other treatises and suggests the existence of a common source[437].

Murray re-studied this problematic exhortation of Aphrahat[438] and suggested it as a sort of midrash on Deut 20:1-9[439] and on Gideon's test[440] which prefigures baptism[441]. He could prove that technical use of the Gospel traditions (specially usage of Matt 10:34 fused with Luke 12:49-53) in connection with the Deutronomic 'Call to Holy War' underline the ascetic life in the early Syriac Church. A cycle of themes borrowed from them[442] were used in ascetic literature with regard to the radical vocation. Following Jesus is associated with Joshua's Holy war. The call 'to abandon family, home and labour' should be responded positively to have the bliss of messianic banquet. He showed the striking thematic similarity of this

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[436] Here he presents an ecclesiastical tradition about the sacred texts. Only the interpretation changes from time to time. Thus the ancient liturgical texts were still used in the Church to which Aphrahat belonged, regardless of the fact that the conditions in which these texts originated had already become anachronistic, cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 56.

[437] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Celibacy*, 55.

[438] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Exhortation», 59-80.

[439] R. MURRAY, «The Exhortation», 59.

[440] Cf. Judg 7:4-8; PS I, 344[2-9](VII,18).

[441] Aphrahat explicitly asserted that Gideon's test of his men by their manner of drinking water prefigures baptism. See PS I, 344[22-25](VII,19):

ܪܘܚܡܐ ܡܝܬܝ ܪܒܢܝܬܐ ܪܥܝܢ ,ܐܡܝ ܓܕܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܫܥ ܡܝܬ ܪܡ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܬ
ܘܪܙܐ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܘܪܙܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ❖

«For great is this mystery, my friend Gideon has shown in advance: it is the type of baptism and mystery of the contest and the image of the *īḥīdāyē*».

[442] Murray pointed out main themes: a) Baptism – the new circumcision not of the flesh, but of the heart (antitype of Josh 5:2) b) The antitype of Joshua's stone sword – the two edged sword of the word of God (Heb 4:12) which is Christ the stone c) This is the sword which Christ said he would send with fire and division to families and hearts (Matt 10:34 fused with Luke 12:49-53) d) Those who wish to follow Christ in athletic contest and in war are challenged to return to marriage or possessions (Deut 20:5). Then they go to «waters of testing» as in test of Gideon (Judg 7:5) and there they 'take their stand', and submit to the dividing sword which makes them *īḥīdāyē* in three aspects 'single from wife or family (μοναχός)', 'single in heart (μονότροπος)', 'united to the only begotten (μονογενής)' and e) Here by they join *qyāmā* and are numbered in the number of Christ's folk and put on His Crown and possess Him as their treasure, cf. R. MURRAY, «The Exhortation», 67.

piece of exhortation of Aphrahat with *Hymns on Epiphany*[443] attributed to Ephrem, and its strong echoes in many other contemporary Judeo-Christian as well as Manichean literature[444]. He tried to prove that the range of traditional images found in earlier authors have a certain technical sense in primitive Judeo-Christian asceticism and also have a scriptural basis. Hence, Murray concluded that we have no reason to think that Aphrahat mentioned a past rite which was no longer in use. It was still in use, not for everybody, but for those who chose freely the way of *Īḥīdāyūtā*, the 'consecrated singleness'. Baptism was the occasion for becoming virgins and consecrated ones[445], *i.e.* the occasion to joining the *Qyāmā*, the group of covenanters and to becoming *īḥīdāyā*. The *bnay qyāmā* «were in harmony with the spirituality of their Church and did not constitute a body independent from the rest of Christian society»[446]. They took their vows when they were baptized and they saw baptism as a means of their self-consecration[447]. Hence, in their case baptism and virginity got a close association.

It seems that the candidates for the *Qyāmā* were many. But the admission to the life of virginity and holiness was given by the Church to those who were genuinely ready for this fight[448]. For them, Baptism was the 'waters of trial' (ܡܝ ܕܢܣܝܘܢ)[449], and the initiation ceremony took place during the baptismal liturgy before the assembly. Aphrahat says that «every one who is strong, the water proves him; and those who are lazy are separated from there»[450]. Almost all our Syriac literature is from the ascetical circles. They write about what concerns them to their disciples

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[443] *HEpiph* VII, 8[1-3]:
ܡܝ ܕܡ ܒܚܪ ܠܗ ܒܚܪ ܓܒܝܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܗܘ ܕܢܚܬܘ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ/ ܢܚܬܘ ܠܡܝ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܣܠܩܘ ܘܢܨܚܘ ܒܩܪܒܐ/ ܘܡܢ ܡܝ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܢܣܒܘ ܟܠܝܠܐ ❊
«From the waters Gideon chose for himself, the men who were victorious in the war/They have gone down to the victorious waters, come up and triumph in the battle/receive atonement from the waters and from the battle the crowning», E. BECK, ed., *De Ephiphania*, 164.

[444] Murray gives a comparative table to show the thematic similarities between many different works from the same ascetical milieu, cf. R. MURRAY, «The Exhortation», 69.

[445] In *Hymns on Epiphany* attributed to Ephrem we have its evidence, cf. *HEpiph* VIII, 16[5-6].17[1-4].

[446] Cf. S. ABOUZAYD, *Ihidayutha*, 59.

[447] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Exhortation», 79-80.

[448] Cf. PS I, 841[3]-843[8](XVIII,12).

[449] PS I, 344[6](VII,18).

[450] PS I, 344[7-9](VII,18): ❊ ܚܠ ܕܒܠܝ ܡܢ ܚܝܠ ܠܗ ܡܝ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܝ ܗܘ ܡܒܚܢ ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܒܥܐ

and they never speak much about holiness in a sexually active marriage. It does not mean that only celibates constitutes the Church. From Aphrahat himself, we have the proof of the existence of common lay Christians and he calls them «children of faith (ܒܢܝ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ / *bnay haymānuṯā*)»[451].

In short, the thesis that there existed a two leveled community in the Church of Aphrahat, consisting of ܚܝܐ ܡܫܚܐ and ܩܬܝܡ in itself is invalid. We have seen that «Penitents (ܩܬܝܡ) did not exist as a group. When coming to the *KM*, in one place the *KM* speaks about the 'covenant' (*qyāmā*) one makes with the Lord[452]. As mentioned already in the first chapter[453], the *KM* once uses the term *bar qyāmā*[454]. R.A. Kitchen did a detailed comparative study of *bnay qyāmā* and its influence on the *KM*. By analyzing various literary works up to 7th cent. which speak about them, he shows that the nature of *bnay qyāmā* underwent changes through these centuries. From the literary evidence mainly from Aphrahat and the *Canons* of Rabbula he sees its similarity with the Perfect (*gmīrē*) of the *KM* during the pre-monastic period but in the later period of evolution, he observes its closeness with the Upright (*kēnē*) and says:

> The characteristics and duties attached to them are closely analogous to the profile of the Perfect in the LG. Both groups require celibacy, embrace poverty, and transcend limits of traditional spiritual discipline. Teaching and prayer are their primary vocations. The great distinction is that *bnay / bnāt qyāmā* seem to be more at ease in countenancing participation in the world's possessions with moderation, while the Perfect theoretically are completely aloof… Particularly in Rabbula's canons, one sees the *bnay / bnāt qyāmā* becoming more involved with administration and active ministries. In this way

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[451] PS I, 465[2-4](X,9): «ܗܐ ܡܠܦ ܘܣܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܚܝܢ ܘܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܡܫܚܐ ܘܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ (Read and learn, you and the brothers, *bnay qyāmā* and sons of our faith)». Nedungatt brings other proofs too, cf. G. NEDUNGATT, «The Covenenters», 201-202.

[452] PS III, 452[2-10](19,2):
ܐܢ ܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܘܩܝܡ ܩܝܡܐ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܬܬܩܝܡ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܠܢܛܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܫܥܬܐ ܐܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܐܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܬܐܬܐ ܠܐܘܪܚܗ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܘܬܥܠ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܪܓܐ ܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܐܢ ܠܡܨܥܕ ܠܗܢ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܬܚܙܐ ܘܬܩܒܠ ܡܢܗ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܀
«If you believe the words of Jesus and have established a covenant [*qyāmā*] to obey his words and keep his great commandments, from that hour, whether in the body or in the spirit, you will come to his road of the commandments and enter these steps. If you desire to ascend them in order to confirm your covenant [*qyāmā*] with Jesus and see and receive from him what he promised you».

[453] See Chap. I, section «2.5.9 A Reaction to the Fifth-century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism».

[454] Cf. PS III, 265[19](10,9).

> they are approximating the vocation of the Upright in the LG... the boundary line is again that of celibacy and now the *bnay qyāmā* are allowed to exist on the worldly side of the boundary... As for the relationship of the *bnay / bnāt qyāmā* to the Upright and the Perfect, we have seen that the author of the LG knows that the former institution exists and is still functioning within his sight. The two structures are parallel in the approach to asceticism and church organization, but there is no direct evidence of the conscious influence of one upon them[455].

Being familiar with the *bnay qyāmā* — the core group of the then believing community — it is notable that the author selects a different way to explain the pursuit of Perfection. If *gmīrē* and *kēnē* are two historical institutions we have to see them in other contemporary literature. So far as we know, his technical terms the *gmīrē* and *kēnē* do not go with any ecclesial formal institutions[456]. From the close reading of this primitive literature, we can easily understand how deeply the principle of the two categories of Christians had influenced Christian thought and life in the Syriac communities. The *KM*, however, testifies that at the time of its composition, the deeply rooted distinction between two categories of Christians still remained with modified emphasis. Hence, it is natural that the first reading of the *KM* offers a dualistic approach. However the actual intention of the author is entirely different from the other dualistic sects of his milieu.

2.4 *The KM and the «Call to Holy War» Tradition*

Like many other ancient Syriac christian works, the *KM* too is not free from the usage of symbolic technical ascetical themes of the «Call to Holy War» tradition. The rationale for the ascetic life in the *KM* is based on the 'Holy War' tradition[457]. We could see the definition of the Perfect (*gmīrē*) in its terms as «they do not take wives, or build or work the ground»[458]. To attain this state, 'marriage', 'property' and 'work' should be renounced. From the discussions that we made so far it is clear that the state of

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[455] R.A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection*, 129-130.

[456] «It seems the Syrian distinction between the Perfect and the Upright did not translate well into the established hierarchical church structures at Antioch or other Byzantine centers on the border with Syriac speaking lands», J.M. LASSER, «Syrian Orthodox Churches», 589.

[457] There is a detailed study on this 'Holy War' traditions in the *KM*, cf. J.H. CORBETT, «They do not take Wives», 3-20.

[458] Cf. PS III, 365[26-27](15,13).

Perfection (*gmīrūtā*) is described using the exact ascetical themes of the «Call to Holy War». The exhortation of Jesus, «he who does not leave his wife and sons and possessions is not worthy of me»[459] is also notable.

In *KM* we can see many expressions from the 'Holy War' context: «Let us arise in battle (ܩܪܒܐ)[460] against sin»[461]. Observances of the commandments are compared to a 'war' (ܩܪܒܐ). The observers' fight is not with 'humanity' (ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ) — 'their brothers, the sons of Adam' (ܐܚܗܘܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ), but with 'sin' (ܚܛܝܬܐ)[462]. The people who desire to achieve the perfection are contesting like 'athlete' (ܐܬܠܝܛܐ)[463]. The Perfect are the winners in this contest:

> The Perfect eradicate all their faults by the power of Our Lord (ܒܚܝܠ ܕܡܪܢ), while patiently praying to Him… they are petitioning all the days of their lives (ܟܠ ܝܘܡܝ ܚܝܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ), keeping the commandments of Our Lord (ܦܩܕܘܢ ܕܡܪܢ, ܕܥܒܕܝܢ) and conquering their evil thoughts (ܘܟܒܫܝܢ ܠܚܫܒܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ) with which they fight continually within and without (ܕܡܬܩܛܪܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܓܘ ܘܒܪ ܡܢ ܒܪ). They patiently persist in petitioning until they have won, and are crowned and receive the wreath of victory (ܘܡܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܘܢܣܒܝܢ ܟܠܝܠ ܢܨܚܐ)[464].

The winners can have the anticipation of the eschatological realities while living on the Earth. They are 'in heaven with Our Lord' (ܒܫܡܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ)[465]. «In this world, they see Our Lord himself in Spirit as in a mirror»[466]. When they have departed from their bodies; they will see Him face to face[467].

While speaking about the «Upright», this fight is described in detail. The *KM* denies the possibility of those who stand in the cares of this world – the Upright – to become the «Perfect». But surely they will be saved and will inherit the portion that is prepared for them which will not be equal to the major portion which is prepared for the Perfect. But if they perfect themselves while contesting and wrestling like athletes, and win the

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[459] Cf. Matt 10:37; 19:29; PS III, 476^{7-8}(19,14).

[460] This is a loan word from Greek term αγών. Its Syriac equivalent is ܩܪܒܐ / *qrābā*.

[461] PS III, 436^{25-26}(18,3): «ܢܩܘܡ ܠܡܚܠ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܥܠ ܚܛܝܬܐ».

[462] Cf. PS III, 36^{10-16}(2,5).

[463] Cf. PS III, 52^{1}(3,3). The term ܐܬܠܝܛܐ is also a Greek loan word from the term ἀθλητής.

[464] PS III, 52^{19}-53^{5}(3,4).

[465] PS III, 36^{10-11}(2,5).

[466] PS III, 36^{19-20}(2,5): ܟܠܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡ ܒܪ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܒܡܪܐ

[467] PS III, 36^{21-22}(2,5): ܐ ܒܪܝ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܠܡܚܠ ܢܩܒ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܝ ܒܗܕܐ

'crown' (ܟܠܝܠܐ) and if they depart from this world without fault, they will be taken as they are found[468]. It clearly supports our view that the state of Perfection is not a pre-fixed state, but a progression in spiritual growth. The linguistic style of the author is very much indebted to the «Call to Holy War» tradition. He defines and describes the stages of the spiritual journey using its categories. He uses the traditional style, but rises from the dualistic tendencies and brings all the believers to the path of Perfection.

2.5 *The KM: A Witness of Re-orientation of the Spiritual Forces*

The *KM* unfolds before our eyes an important phase of re - orientation of the spiritual forces[469] in the midst of the changing situations of the early Syriac Christian community. It «exhibits evidence of a gradually progressing moderation of the early Syrian severity»[470]. Primarily, it addresses not the ascetics only, but everybody who belongs to the Church and secondly it presents Perfection as the goal of every person. The anonymous author accepts the presence of married people[471] in the Church and his position regarding marriage reveals «our work as an invaluable witness that reveals how the uncompromising encratite ideal of Christian life was modified and adapted to serve the needs of a community in transition»[472]. All believers should pursue the journey of perfection which is like a «war» and the winners deserve appropriate places according to their spiritual level. Spiritual growth is one's own responsibility.

Since the author shares the dualistic tendencies of his milieu he recreated the nature of proto-humanity in terms of «the holy war tradition» and presented the plan to restore that lost purity, in terms of renunciation of «marriage, possessions, and labour»[473]. If we take the literal sense of these expressions the gap between the «Perfect» and the «Upright» is great. Through the efforts that we made in this chapter, now we are in a position

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[468] Cf. PS III, 52^{2-9}(3,3).

[469] Cf. A.VÖÖBUS, «Liber Graduum», 124.

[470] J.M. LASSER, «Syrian Orthodox Churches», 588.

[471] Cf. PS III, 353^{9-16}(15,8).

[472] S. MINOV, «Marriage and Sexuality», 260.

[473] These three are elements borrowed from the 'Holy War' tradition are the principal distractions in the pursuit of perfection. In the parable of the 'Great Banquet (Luke 14:15-24)' the excuses for not going for the banquet are 'field, yoke of oxen and the marriage' goes with the same tradition. Since the living traditions of Antioch furnished the background of the Gospel according to Luke it is quite natural to see the same ascetical symbolic terms, cf. P. BROWN, *The Body and Society*, 87.

to see the symbolism behind such expressions. Sexuality, work, possessions *etc.*, are the symbolic terms for the causes of distractions that destroy the single-minded unity with God. A close reader can see that this division is not so sharp as to make water tight compartments. If the «Upright» are ready to alter their lifestyle radically, they too can become the Perfect[474]. To prove this, the author takes the example from the Acts of the Apostles:

> If any of these stewards wants to make the effort to empty himself, he will reach the major commandments and stand fast in perfection just like one of the first seven deacons, Stephen, who was killed while teaching the Word (ܡܠܦ ܡܠܦ) not while giving material alms. That is, he emptied himself and received the Paraclete[475].

Hence, A. Guillaumont is right in seeing the distinctions in the *KM* community as spiritual[476]. There are not just two groups, rather, the author suggests a multileveled community in which some could not even reach the level of the Upright while others could transcend the level of the Perfect. There are also intermediary levels between the Perfect and the Upright: these levels are not very sharp, and they overlap[477]. The author tries to focus on certain major states and tries to ascend from certain dualistic currents he received from his living context. In the course of explanation, there evolves a third state – not well defined but which can be described as a state «beyond Perfection». This state will actualize after our physical departure from this world. In short, from bipartite scheme he moves to a «tripartite scheme». Gradually from the gradations existing in the community he changes his focus to the believer who constitutes these out of his free will and freedom. If one falls from Perfection and even from Uprightness, which is inferior to Perfection, «it was the consequence of one's own decision and of one's own hardness of heart (ܒܝܕܗ ܕܡܥܒܕ ܠܚܫܘܟ)»[478]. Here we can observe a shift in focus from the war to the

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[474] Cf. PS III, 81^{21-25}(3,16); S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 82. It is described as an easy enterprise for everybody. The only demand is the deliberate effort of the will to empty and lower oneself. Then one can reach the highest level of Perfection.

[475] PS III, 77^{20}-80^{1}(3,15), cf. Acts 6:1-7:60.

[476] «Mais, avant d'être d'ordre ecclésiastique, cette distinction entre justes et perfaits est, plus profondément, d'ordre spiritual», cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, «Situation et Signification», 314.

[477] Cf. PS III, 41^{3}- 44^{6}(2,8).

[478] PS III, 17^{20}(1,3).

warrior. Roux supports this argument as «pur essendoci dunque tanti gradi nella vita spirituale quanti sono gli uomini, e sebbene lo stesso individuo, nel corso della sua esistenza, possa passare da un grado all'altro»[479]. Thus, the tripartite structure that *KM* presents becomes part of «an inner spiritual journey rather than the active functioning of a Church»[480]. The author wants to concentrate on the person who decided to walk through the way to Perfection and presents it as an ascent in which one's body, soul, and Spirit are actively involved. As Kollamparampil comments: «the divinely designed spiritual progress is from 'a single plan' and the Spirit who assists at all levels is the 'same Spirit'. But the achieved results of the spiritual progress depend upon one's rate of response to the Holy Spirit who is active in the daily life»[481]. Thus, *KM* witnesses a slow evolution of a tripartite scheme that flourished in several other later works. This tripartite scheme which is in its evolutionary stage becomes clear in its vision of the Church.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt is made to find out various tripartite approaches of the author. Analysis of the whole text of the *KM* reveals a growth in insight. It is not possible to deny the fact that the author is influenced by the living context of a believing community guided by various dualistic tendencies and an asceticism headed by virginity. Hence from the clear narrations about «Perfect and Upright», «major commandments and minor commandments», «solid food and milk and vegetables», «spiritual ministry and physical ministry», it is natural for a casual reader to consider our work as one which owns a bipartite approach for the development of its argument. But its vision of the Church has a clear tripartite structure. It presents the mystery of the Church at three levels, viz., the «visible Church», the «Church of the heart» and the «heavenly Church». Out of a curiosity to know why such a rapid shift, a close reading of the text was done, and it provided a spark for the efforts behind this chapter.

While going through the clearly projected grades of «Perfection» and «Uprightness» we could see many other grades beyond and below their boundaries as well as in intermediate positions. Hence, it is possible to

[479] Cf. R. ROUX, «Note sull' ecclesiologia», 54.
[480] R.A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection,* 193.
[481] T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «A Holistic Vision», 86.

consider them as spiritual divisions rather than a social one. It is also notable in the text that a third major stage is evolving in the descriptions not in a defined way but in a descriptive mode. The author provides no particular definitive term for that third stage but presents it as a mode of fulfilment in the Eschaton. In all these graded approaches the subject matter is the same, the spiritual journey to Perfection. The author narrates that journey using different metaphorical categories.

The 'Perfection' is presented as the proto-state of humanity and the «Uprightness», the state of humanity after the fall. The major concern of the author is to exhort the believers to regain that lost state of 'Perfection'. We see that he shares many thoughts of the Manichean bipartite groups the 'Elects' and the 'Hearers'; Marcionite concept of the 'Perfection' (ܫܠܝܡܘܬܐ) and the 'Uprightness' (ܫܘܝܪܐ)», the proto-monastic groups of *bnay qyāmā*, but never identifies his protagonists Perfect and Upright with any of them. From the study that we did, we could not find the «Perfect» and the «Upright» of the *KM* as any historical ecclesiastical institutes. It is true that the author narrates the proto-state of Adam using sharp ascetical terms of renunciation, which he borrowed from his milieu guided by a strong tradition of the Deuteronomic «Call to Holy War». The ascetic demands like renunciation of «marriage, possessions, and work» seem to make an unbridgeable chasm between the «Perfect» and the «Upright». But this chapter made an attempt to see the symbolism behind such expressions.

The Syriac ascetic terms for «virginity, purity, detachment from work», *etc*., imply a state in which man can be in perfect union with God, *i.e.* in *īḥīdāyūtā*. Here lies the significance of the author's argument that man should regain the first «image of Adam» which is taken by the incarnated Lord. The relationship of Adam in his original state as *īḥīdāyā* incarnated Christ the *Īḥīdāyā* – who received the image of Adam and the Perfect of today the *īḥīdāyē* is well explained in our work. The original sense of *īḥīdāyūtā* never intended a solitary life. Any baptized one can be an *īḥīdāyā*, no matter to which ecclesiastical institution he belongs. Now we are in a position to make a hypothesis that using the traditional language of an «ascetical war» the author changes his focus from the War to the Warrior. Here the main thrust of the narration is about the disposition of the warrior. Nobody is born Perfect but grows day by day to that level. The *KM* presents these stages, not as sharp divisions without the chance of overlapping, but as the stages of progressive growth. The believer with free will and freedom is on the stage. The consecrated ascetic, as well as the

ordinary believer, can be the Upright as well as the Perfect. Hence, the author presents these grades with open ends. The gap between these stages gradually becomes slighter in our work. In this growth, the protagonist is man. Even though the author is influenced much by several bipartite historical institutions of his milieu, his insight grows to a tripartite anthropological approach which he clearly expressed in his vision about the Church which will be the focus of our next chapter.

Chapter III

From Tripartite Person to Triple Gradated Church

Introduction

The Chapter II studied about different triple gradated metaphors used by the author to describe the journey of perfection. There it is possible to observe a gradual growth in insight and a slow evolution from bipartite scheme to a tripartite approach in theological and ascetical discussions. From the detailed study that done in the previous chapter, it is easy to observe a shift in focus from the «War» to the «Warrior» in the spiritual battlefield. Hence, in this chapter, we try to analyze the *KM* from an anthropological point of view to see whether its pioneer vision about the «triple gradated Church» is rooted in its anthropological approach or not. During this analysis, writings of two more authors[1], Aphrahat — who is believed to have lived just before the author of the *KM* — and John the Solitary — the immediate follower in whom the tripartite scheme is crystal clear — will be considered to check whether there exist similar thoughts and mutual influence.

1. The *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā* and Tripartite Man

It is discussed that all the triple gradated approaches that we witnessed in the *KM* — the subject matter of the previous chapter— focus more on the

[1] The biographical as well as bibliographical details of these authors are provided in this chapter later in their appropriate position, see section 2. Aphrahat and 3. John the Solitary.

«Person» who is on his move to Perfection than on any historical ecclesiastical institutions. Hence, an analysis of the author's vision of man is a necessary step to enter into the discussions about the triple gradated Church. The whole text of the *KM* should be analyzed to find out whether he presents a tripartite view of man or not? If so, how can this view, pave its way to the vision of a triple gradated Church? In this teaching does the author represent a traditional flow of thought? or whether he stand with any originality?

1.1 *Man: A Conditional Tripartite Being*

Let us start this section with a relevant citation from the *KM*, which reveals its view on man: «According to the nature of his creation, a person is body and soul only; the Spirit of Holiness of God comes to dwell in him when he keeps the commandments of his Creator»[2]. Hence, man can be considered as a conditional tripartite being with 'body' (ܦܓܪܐ), 'soul' (ܢܦܫܐ), and the conditional presence of the 'Spirit of Holiness of God' (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ). When we do a close reading of the above-mentioned phrase in the *KM*, « ܒܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ» two things are to be noted. 1) The verb used is 'to be'(ܐܝܬ). That means, it never says that man has body and soul, but man 'is' body and soul. The very expression points to the integrity of man. 2) The expression «according to the nature of his creation (ܒܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ)» deserves our next attention. The word ܟܝܢܐ is a significant but disputed term in the theological world. The difference in the way of comprehension of this term was the main cause behind several Christological controversies[3]. We are not entering into those fiery discussions, which are beyond the scope of this study. The literal meaning of ܟܝܢܐ is 'nature', 'essence', 'being',[4] *etc*. In the *KM*, we could see this word several times. Only by summing up all those passages, can we grasp the meaning of this expression «ܒܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ». In

[2] PS III, 785[9-12] (28,1):
ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܐ ܒܗ ܒܙܕ ܕܢܛܪ ܦܩܕܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܗ ❖

[3] Cf. A.H. BECKER, *Fear of God*, 141-142; S.P. BROCK, «The Christology of the Church of the East», 125-142.

[4] It derives from the root ܟܝܢ which means 'to exist', cf. Payne Smith 213; Sokoloff, 609.

some instances, ܟܝܢܐ points to the pure state of something at their creation[5]. Again it expresses the mode of existence of something by the way it appears to man[6]. One occasion, the author makes it clear that even when we are imitating Christ, His 'nature' remains intangible[7]. Here ܟܝܢܐ refers to the unique element in Christ, which cannot be accessed by mere imitation. In short this word can be used either for an «objective reality» or for representing an «appearance» through the activity of something or someone. In our context, the expression «according to the nature of his creation (ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܝ ܟܝܢܐ)» points to the objective state of man in which he was created, where he holds only 'body' and 'soul'. It leads to the impression that man in the *KM* is bipartite, but it never negates the presence of a third element. For the author, this third element directly comes from God to dwell in man and is identified with the 'Holy Spirit of God' (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)[8].

The author of the *KM* is not the first one hold the view that the third element in man is divine. In 1Thess 5:23, Paul speaks about man as a tripartite being with 'body' (ܦܓܪܐ / *pagrā*), 'soul' (ܢܦܫܐ / *napšā*) and 'Spirit' (ܪܘܚܐ / *rūhā*). It shall be discussed in the brief study attached as the Appendix, the «Pauline Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*». Tatian[9] as well

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[5] PS III, 705[10-11](23,8): «ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܒܛܒܝܥܬ ܒܪܝܬܗ ܘܒܫܦܝܪ ܟܝܢܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ: (Every thing that God created, look it is very beautiful and best in the nature of its creation)»; *Ibid*., 785[9-10](28,1): «ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ (According to the nature of his creation a person is body and soul only)».

[6] PS III, 300[10](12,6): «his childish nature (ܛܠܝܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܕ)».

[7] PS III, 664[16-20](22,13): «When we offer our cheek to blows according to our tangible nature (ܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܡܫܫܐ), this lowliness is smaller than that lowliness, because that nature, which was neither tangible nor wounded (ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܫܫ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܓܥ), became limited and was wounded». For similar expressions, cf. *Ibid*., 241[1-3](9,18); 665[2-10](22,13).

[8] See f.no. 2 of this Chapter.

[9] Cf. TATIAN, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 12-15. In Tatian we could see three elements in man: σῶμα, ψυχή, πνεῦμα. For him the last two are two kinds of spirits. The πνεῦμα is greater than the ψυχή and is the 'image and likeness of God' (θεοῦ δὲ εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις). For him the first men were endowed with both, so that they might be part of the material world, and at the same time above it. This lower spirit ψυχή is mortal and at death it will dissolve with the body, but rises at the end of the world with the body, cf. *Ibid.*, 13. Here soul is presented as the determinative factor which has the capacity to incline on both sides, that of body and of spirit. He says that if soul lives alone it inclines down towards matter and dies with the flesh (σάρξ). But if it gains union with divine spirit it mounts to the realms above, cf. *Ibid.*, 13. In the *KM* the same idea of this double citizenship can be seen. See f.no.15 of this Chapter.

as the *Acts of Thomas*.[10] hold the same view that the third element in man is divine. In Aphrahat also man is a 'tripartite being'[11]. Ephrem presents the third element as the «power which gives life to all (ܚܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܠܟܠ)»[12].

In the second chapter, we have seen that throughout the work several bipartite gradations were projected while a third state was there as a divine gift. Now it is understood that the author arranged them in the same line of his anthropological thought. Let us see how the *KM* sees the three components in man that make him a tripartite being.

1.1.1 Body (ܦܓܪܐ)

As already seen in Chapter II, the first man before his fall as well as the 'Perfect of today' are compared to the angels[13]. The element that distinguishes a man from the angels is his body (ܦܓܪܐ / *pagrā*). Even though the *KM* spends much space for narrating the angelic state of the original humanity, it never denied its corporality. The «body» is presented as a terrestrial and sensible part of man through which he can be in this world and be visible to all. Corporality was never regarded as an

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[10] The *Acts of Thomas* present man as a tripartite being with *pagrā*, *napšā* and *rūhā*. The *rūhā* is presented as the divine element, and in some cases identified with Holy Spirit. It is evident in a prayer of the Apostle Thomas reported in Act IX:
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܠܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܫܒܚܘܢ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܚܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܫܒܚ

impediment to contemplate the heavenly mysteries. The *KM* affirms about man that, «while living in the body on the earth, his mind daily dwells in Eden, in the Spirit»[14]. There could not see any disregard for the *pagrā* in the *KM*. More than that it places man as one who enjoys a double citizenship, 'physically / in body on earth (ܒܦܓܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ) and 'spiritually / in Spirit in heaven (ܒܪܘܚܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ) until it pleased his Creator to elevate him to the 'hight' (ܪܡܝܐ)[15].

In the *KM*, a different term ܒܣܪܐ / *besrā*[16] is usually used in a sense very close to that of *pagrā* and in some instances even as its synonym. In its strict sense *besrā* means 'flesh' that constitutes the 'body' of a vital being. This direct meaning for *besrā* as 'flesh' or 'meat' is there in the *KM*[17]. In certain instances, *besrā* gives a general sense, as 'body'[18]. Only once, is it presented as an element distinct from the body as 'the body and the flesh'[19]. The *KM* uses an expression 'all flesh' (ܟܠܣܪܐ) to indicate all terrestrial creation[20]. Paul uses the term σάρξ to indicate the fragile and finite nature of human being[21]. In the *KM* too *besrā* is presented as an element which is inclined to carnal desires and lusts that oppose the 'spirit' (*rūhā*)[22] in a

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[14] PS III, 144[5-7](6,2): ܐܡ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܒܦܓܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܗܘ
While commenting on the the 'parable of the prodigal son' (Luke 15:11-32) to explain the transformation that happens to a penitent the author repeated the same idea, PS III, 381[11-14](15,18):

ܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܦܓܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝ

person. The Pauline expression in 2Cor 12:7: «a thorn was given me in my flesh» is there in the *KM*[23]. There are some passages where *besrā* is presented as the seat of desires[24]. The further usage of the term is there which gives a sense of 'physical'. There is an expression in the *KM*, «eyes of the flesh (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ)»[25], *i.e.* the physical eyes, those can see only the visible beauty of the earth[26] in contrast with the «eyes of the spirit (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ)», *i.e.* the spiritual eyes which can observe the heavenly beauty[27]. The term *besrā* can also be used to indicate biological or blood relation[28] and again to indicate a relationship with kinsmen[29].

1.1.2 Soul (ܢܦܫܐ)

The next element in man is ܢܦܫܐ / *napšā* which means the 'breath of life', 'soul', 'physical', 'vital principle', 'a living person', 'self', *etc*[30]. It stands always in close relationship with the body (*pagrā*). The Syriac writers never considered the human soul as an entity separated from the

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[18](23,8) we have the contrasted terms, the 'earthly corporeal creation' (ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܓܫܡܢܝܬܐ ܒܪܝܬܐ) and the 'heavenly spiritual being' (ܟܝܢܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ).

[23] «ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί»; PS III, 36[2] (2,5): ܒܣܪ ܠܝ ܡܠܐܟ ܣܛܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ

[24] Cf. PS III, 820[19](29,3); 829[1](29,7). A warning is there that those who perform the 'works of the flesh' (ܥܒܕܝ ܒܣܪܐ) cannot have the 'inheritance in the kingdom of God' (ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛ), cf. *Ibid.*, 53[13-15](3,4); 816[11-12](29,2). Here flesh is presented as the seat of all desires which results in fornication, carousing, murder, drunkenness, adultery and stealing.

[25] Cf. PS III, 64[3](3,9), 81[19-20](3,16), 412[20](16,12); 589[5](21,2), 608[8](21,8), 612[18](21,10).

[26] Cf. PS III, 761[16](26,3).

[27] Cf. PS III, 632[17](21,20). Again we have an expression «mind of his flesh (ܪܥܝܢܗ ܕܒܣܪܗ)», *Ibid*., 873[4](30,4).

[28] The *KM* says about a child, which is 'physically young' (ܛܥܝܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ) is educated by his 'physical mother' (ܐܡܗ ܕܒܣܪܗ), cf. PS III, 125[19-20](5,15). We can see the expression 'physical fathers' (ܐܒܗܝ ܕܒܣܪܗ) to indicate blood relation, cf. *Ibid*., 285[12-13](12,1).

[29] The 'fellow human being' in singular and plural: PS III, 148[24](7,2); 689[5.6.8.10,12](22,25): ܒܪ ܒܪܢܫܐ; *Ibid*., 157[17](7,6): ܒܪ ܒܪܢܫܗ; *Ibid*., 148[22](7,1):ܒܢܝ ܒܪܢܫܐ; *Ibid*., 157[19](7,6): ܒܢܝ ܒܪܢܫܗ; *Ibid*., 209[25](9,3); 260[15](10,6): ܒܢܝ ܒܪܢܫܐ; *Ibid*., 257[13](10,5); 688[18](22,24); 425[12](17,7); 649[7](22,7), 652[7](22,7): ܒܪ ܒܪܢܫ; *Ibid*., 688[24.26](22,25): ܒܪ ܒܪܢܫ; *Ibid*., 685[16](22,23): ܒܢܝ ܒܪܢܫ.

[30] Cf. Payne Smith, 346-347. For the details of its different shades of meaning, *Thesaurus*, 2430-2431.

body[31]. The term used for soul *napšā* itself is an evidence for this unity. As we have seen it refers to the 'life principle' of a man. The author holds the idea that the presence of soul in a man is the reason for his uniqueness when compared to other creatures. He says that, «as Adam had, they do not have either a soul or freedom (ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܠ ܥܡ ܐܕܡ ܒܪܝܬ ܟܡܐ ܢܫܝܐ)»[32]. The human body without soul or *vice versa* cannot be a person[33]. However, he admits that there exist some differences between body and soul in their nature. He affirms that the «human soul is not blood (ܠܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܐܬܐ ܟܕ ܕܡܐ)»[34] and «soul does not die with the body (ܐܠ ܡܢ ܐܬܐ ܢܫܟ ܡܝܬ)»[35]. Even though he admits that the soul is not like body and hence it is «sometimes called spirit and sometimes soul»[36], he never forgets to emphasize the fact that it is created. He borrows the words of Isaiah[37]: «As Isaiah says, He created the spirit of man within him. He does not say, He breathed into, in order to make clear that the inbreathing was from the Spirit of the Lord and not a creature»[38]. The author wants to affirm the fact that the 'soul' is different from 'Spirit of the Lord' which the Creator breathed into man. He may be trying to answer some sects who

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[31] Ephrem strongly supports their unity against the Gnostic dualistic tendencies of his time, which projected tension between body and soul, cf. T. KOONAMMAKKAL, «Ephrem's Polemics», 428-432. For Ephrem, body is the tabernacle of the soul, cf. *HEccl* XXXVIII, 8^{1-5} in E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*, 94-95; *HVirg* III, 3 in E. BECK. ed., *De Virginitate*, 9; *HNis*, XLVII, 2^{1-2}; *Ibid.*, LXIX, 15^{1-2} in E.BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, II, 58, 112. He considers body as a silent harp, before God breathed the soul into it, cf. *HPar* VIII, 8^{3-5} in E. Beck., *De Paradiso*, 34.

[32] PS III, 604^{21-22}(21,8).

[33] John the Solitary makes it clear in his *Dialogue on Soul.* See *Die Seele* 3^{15-16}:

ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܓܫܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܓܫܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܒܪܐ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ

«If the body alone were a person without the soul, this would not even be a man whom God had created in this world».

[34] He dedicated the *mēmrā* XXVIII: «ܐܝܟܢ ܕܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܬܐ ܕܕܡ (On the fact that the human soul is not the blood)» on this theme, cf. PS III, 785-805(28,1-11). A similar expression can be seen in John the Solitary. While speaking about animals Solitary makes a significant comment in his *Die Seele*, 48^{7-8}:

ܐܢܘܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܕܡܗ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܡܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܛܒܝܬ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ

«Their soul is only their blood and they do not have excellent nature of the soul».

[35] PS III, 785^{6}(28,1).

[36] PS III, 785^{7-8}(28,1): ܐܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܫܘܝ ܚܕ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܬܐ

[37] Here the author is confused with Zech 12:1.

[38] PS III, 788^{1-5}(28,1):

ܟ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܓܘ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ

proposed that «the Spirit and the soul in human beings are created»[39]. We are not sure about the group against whom he is speaking. From Syriac tradition, only Bardaisan[40] stands for three natural elements[41]. Hence, according to M. Kmosko, it can be against the followers of Bardaisan[42] that the author speaks. In the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*[43] he presents three natural elements in man *viz*., 'body' (ܦܓܪܐ), 'soul' (ܢܦܫܐ) and 'intellect' (ܗܘܕܝܐ) which experience changes[44]. It is notable that for him the third and the superior element is 'intellect' (ܗܘܕܝܐ)[45] and not ܪܘܚܐ / *rūḥā*. In his *Discourse Against Bardaisan*, Ephrem speaks about *Bardaisan's* concept about the third element as «strange leaven that hidden in the soul

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[39] PS III, 785[2-3](28,1): ܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ

[40] Bardaisan (154-222/3 AD) is the first known syriac literary author. He served at the court of Abgar VIII (177-212 AD). For more details about his visions, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Bardaiṣan», 56-57.

[41] Cf. H.J.W. DRIJVERS, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 87; I.L.E. RAMELLI, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, 219.

[42] Kmosko, *Prefatio*, XL.

[43] All most all of the works of Bardaisan were lost. We have only a philosophical dialogue on fate and free will in which Bardaisan is the protagonist— probably written by his disciple Philip, the *Book of the Laws of Countries* (ܟܬܳܒ ܕܕܝܢܝ ܐܪܨܳܬ̈ܐ). This work is preserved in only a single manuscript, B.M. Add. 14.658, ff. 129[a]-141[a]. For a description of this MS, cf. W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, III, 1154-1160. The Syriac text was first published by W. Cureton with its English translation, cf. *Book of the Laws of Countries*, in W. CURETON, ed., *Spicilegium Syriacum*, syriac text, ܐ–ܟ; English trans., *Ibid*., 1-34. We have an edition from F. Nau with a Latin translation, cf, *Liber Legum Regionum*, F. NAU, ed. – tr., in PS II, 490-658. He also edited the work with a French translation, cf. *Les livre des lois des pays*, ID., ed. – tr., Syriac text,ܐ ܠ–; French trans., 1-58. We have some other translations in various languages. For Italian translation, cf. *Il dialogo delle leggi dei paesi*, tr. G. Levi della Vida; Syriax text with English trans., *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, H.J.W. DRIJVERS, ed. – tr. For details of editions and translations, cf. I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 39-4; D. BAKKER, *Book of the Laws*, 17-23.

[44] While speaking about the fate, he says about these elements as those can undergo changes:

ܟܬܒ ܚܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܣܕܪܐ ܘܣܕܪ ܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܒܓܘ̈ܫܡܐ ܫܚܠܦ̈ܝܢ ❊

«According to this course and order the intellects undergo changes while descending to the soul, and the souls while descending to the bodies», *Liber Legum Regionum*, F. NAU, ed. – tr., in PS II, 572[6-9]; H.J.W. DRIJVERS, ed.– tr., *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, 32[13-16].

[45] It means 'mind', 'intellect', 'understanding', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 254.

which is without knowledge»[46]. His division corresponds more to σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς, the tripartite divisions found in Greek philosophy[47]. But in his school of thought, the people are never classified into three classes, but these three elements indicate three levels in the life of every man[48].

When we examine the whole text of the *KM*, we see three more words that are used almost interchangeably with ܪܘܚܐ, *viz*., 'spirit' (ܪܘܚܐ), 'mind' (ܪܥܝܢܐ) and 'heart' (ܠܒܐ). There exists much fluidity in the usage of these technical terms. Let us examine these three equivalent terms.

1) ܪܘܚܐ — It means 'breath', 'animal life', 'wind', 'spirit'[49], *etc*. Sometimes it refers to the soul, the natural spirit and sometimes to the Holy Spirit[50]. We have expressions like 'spiritual ministry' (ܫܘܫܦܐ ܫܘܒܥܬܐ), and 'spiritual eyes' (ܥܝܢܝ ܪܘܚܐ) placed in contrast with 'visible or physical ministry' (ܫܘܫܦܐ ܒܣܪܢܝܬܐ) and 'physical or carnal eyes' (ܥܝܢܐ ܒܣܪܢܝܬܐ). In these cases, ܪܘܚܐ and its derivations intend the invisible natural spirit of man, which stands in contrast to the visible body. But at the same time in many other contexts, ܪܘܚܐ is used as Holy Spirit. In one place it speaks about the people who do not receive the 'Spirit of God' (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)[51] as those whose ܪܘܚܐ is held captured by Satan[52]. Here the word ܪܘܚܐ is there to represent both the natural spirit of man, *i.e.* the soul as well as the Holy Spirit. One instance is rather clear with the distinct use of soul and spirit: «whoever is in Spirit, however, ministers to what is invisible to

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[46] *Discourse Against Bardaisan* LIX:

ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܣܟܠܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܘܚܐ ,ܡ

«"Reason" as they say, – "is the strange leaven that hidden – in the soul" which is without knowledge», EPHREM, *A Discourse against Bardaisan*, in C.W. MITCHELL – A.A. BEVAN – F.C. BURKITT, eds., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, 158[20-23]; English trans., *Ibid.*, lxxiii. Ephrem had objections against Bardaisan mainly because of his view of man that he denies the resurrection of bodies. Ephrem's criticism against Bardaisan's anthropology is briefly treated by Drijvers, cf. H.J.W. DRIJVERS, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 152-157.

[47] For a brief description of tripartite approaches of Greek philosophical schools, cf. I. RAMELLI, «Tricotomia», 11772-11776.

[48] H.J.W. DRIJVERS, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, 224.

[49] Payne Smith, 533-534. See Chap. I, section 2.5.7.

[50] Cf. PS III, 785[6-8](28,1).

[51] Cf. PS III, 65[1](3,10).

[52] PS III, 64[27](3,10): ܟܠܗ ܐܫܪ ܪܘܚܐ

corporeal eyes, namely to the soul, which is visible in the Spirit for the spiritual eye»[53].

2) ܪܥܝܢ — It means ‘mind’, ‘intellect’, ‘conscience’, *etc*[54]. The capacity of the corporeal man to cross the boundaries of the earth is usually presented in association with the mind. While speaking about Adam in his primitive purity the author says that in his first state Adam enjoyed the ‘luminosity of the mind’ (ܢܗܝܪܘܬ ܪܥܝܢ)[55]. The mind with ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ / *šapyūtā*[56] enjoys the capacity to dwell in heaven[57]. Only after the sin the first parents’ «mind came from heaven to their bodies»[58]. The «Perfect» of today enjoy the initial purity of man at creation and hence their minds can dwell in heaven[59].

3) ܠܒ — It means ‘heart’, ‘mind’, ‘center’[60], *etc*. The Syriac word, ܠܒ got the same significance that the word לב has in biblical Hebrew. In Jewish and Christian understanding, the heart (ܠܒ) is not a simple organ,

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[53] PS III, 81[19-21](3,16):
ܘܥܕ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܡܥܠ ܠܚܡ ܗܠܐ ܠܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܒ ܕܡܬ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܠܥܝܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬ ܠܗ ܠܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܒܓܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ❖ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

[54] Cf. Payne Smith, 546.

[55] Cf. PS III, 644[11](22,4).

[56] This term is common in Ephrem and well developed in John the Solitary and many other later scholars. See section «1.3.2 a) + The Purity and the Luminosity» of this Chapter.

[57] Cf. PS III, 193[8-9](8,2); 592[8](21,3); 605[9]-612[20](21,8-10); 741[4-6](25,4); 825[12](29,5).

[58] PS III, 605[10-11](21,8): «ܒܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܓܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ». Capacity of the mind to dwell in two places is described by many Syriac writers. For example, John the Solitary in his *First Dialogue with Thomasios* shares the same idea, Cf. JOHN THE SOLITARY, *Dialogue with Thomasios*, I[206-211] in W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, 8-9. Similar idea is there in the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools* by *Mār Bar Ḥadbšabbā* of *Bēt ‘Arbāyā*, Bishop of *Ḥulwān*:
ܘܥܕ ܡܚܝܐ ܚܕ ܡܬܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬ ܠܗ ܠܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܒܓܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ❖ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

«Therefore it is the lot of this rational and illuminated mind, which is the likeness of God, its maker, to dwell in two places: the one, upon the earth while clothed in a corporeal garment, going about within a fleshy enclosure; the other, in turn, up above- the portion fell to it that it might walk within the open plain of air, for such as these are all the spiritual orders», BAR ḤADBŠABBĀ, *Cause de la Fondation des Écoles*, A. SCHER, ed. – tr., 341[3-7]; English trans., «The Cause of the Foundation of the Schools», tr. A.H. Becker, in ID., *Sources of the History of the School of Nisibis*, 109.

[59] PS III, 144[5-7](6,2); 193[7-9](8,2); 317[15-19](13,7); 325[12-13](14,1); 381[3.12](15,18); 608[2](21,8).

[60] Cf. Payne Smith, 233.

but the seat of the intellect and emotions which stand as the sense of the senses. The hidden works of the heart got enough space in early Christian writers who received much from Semitic as well as Greek cultures[61]. The tendency to separate 'mind' from 'heart' or in clear words associating mind with head and heart with emotions is unknown to Syriac writers. For them, the mind's true place is in the heart and not in the head. They follow the biblical thought pattern[62] where the heart is regarded as the focal point of every aspect of a person. As S.P. Brock observes, there is «a great advantage in having this single term to denote the central point of these two modes of existence, for it serves to emphasise the wholeness of the human person, constituted out of body and soul: the heart of the inner man is also the heart of the outer man; neither heart can function properly without the other»[63]. The *KM* gives much emphasis to a spirituality of the heart which explains the dynamics of earthly life «as a way, a journey in progress that needs the constant activity of the heart»[64]. Hence, the author exhorts continuously to keep a unity between body and heart: «For there is no one who accomplishes righteousness with his heart and does not accomplish it with his body, because from the fullness of the heart, lips speak (Matt 12:34) and after the thought of the heart, the body moves. As the heart is humble, so the body will be humble»[65].

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[61] For the relevance of heart in early Christian spirituality, see A. GUILLAUMONT, «Le "coeur" chez les spirituels grecs à l'épocque ancienne», 2281-2288.

[62] For the studies on the role of the 'heart' in spiritual life of Eastern Christianity giving emphasis to Syriac literatures, cf. J. RAASCH, «The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart», IV, 272-282; S.P. BROCK, «The Prayer of the Heart», 131-142; ID., «The Spirituality of the Heart», 93-115; J. GATHER, *Teachings on the Prayer of the Heart in the Greek and Syrian Fathers*, 61-123. For a brief study about the heart in the *KM*, cf. T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «'Hidden Work' of the Heart in Liber Graduum», 299-309.

[63] S.P. BROCK, «The Prayer of the Heart», 133. The Pauline expressions «inner man» and «outer man» played a significant role in many early spiritual writings. See the Appendix in p. 383 for their usage in Paul; and for their presence in different ancient Christian writings including the *KM*, see this Chapter, section «1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*». For their usage in John the Solitary see the sections «3.1.2 c) The Soulish Man: An Outer Man» and «3.1.3 a) A Spiritual Man: An Inner Man» of this Chapter.

[64] T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «"Hidden Work" of the Heart and Spiritual Progression», 262.

[65] PS III, 264[1-6](10,8):
ܠܗ ܚܢ ܥܡ ܪܥܠܗ ܣܟ ܟܠ ܡܥܝܢ ܚܝܠ ܪܟ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܥܡܠ ܠܟ ܡܚܠ
ܘܡܚܝ ܡܢ ܡܠܐ ܣܥܝܪ ܠܟ ܡܠ ܚܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܚܝ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܡܠܐ ܟܠ ܚܝܐ ❖

1.1.3 Inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)

The term used in the *KM* for the third element in man is «inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)»[66]. The term ܢܫܡܬܐ derives from the root ܢܦܫ which means 'to breathe', 'inbreathe', 'inspire', 'to blow'[67], *etc*. It is different from the term used in Gen 2:7 ܢܫܬܐ[68]. Let us see its various connotations in the *KM*. The ܢܫܡܬܐ is the 'breath of God'. Its nature is described in the *KM* as 'uncreated' and it is excluded from the 'nature of man's creation' (ܚܝ ܡܒܪܝܬ)[69]. It is described as something «from the Holy Spirit (ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[70], but on some other occasions, it is identified with the «Holy Spirit»[71]. In the *KM*, we have also the common expressions like «Spirit of the Lord (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ)»[72], «Spirit of God (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)»[73], «Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[74], «Spirit of Holiness (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ)»[75], and its feminine form «ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܪܘܚܐ»[76] to address the Holy Spirit. The element which determines the primitive state of man, *i.e.* the state of Perfection is not the natural spirit 'soul', but the third element which is uncreated and which is from the Lord.

According to the author, the 'breath of God' and 'Spirit of Christ' are identical and the indwelling of this inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ) from Holy Spirit is associated with three major moments of salvation history. 1) the Creation 2) the Resurrection of Christ 3) the baptism. At creation, God breathed into the nostrils of Adam, His Holy Spirit. The same Holy Spirit is given by Our Lord to His disciples on the day of His Resurrection:

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[66] PS III, $788^{4.9.15}$(28,1); 789^{2}(28,2); 792^{15}(28,4).

[67] Cf. Payne Smith, 343.

[68] This word is used only one time in the *KM*. «small breath of life (ܢܫܬܐ ܩܛܝܢܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ)» which is in our mind and which undergoes wrestling with body, cf. PS III, 813^{23-24}(29,2).

[69] See f.no. 2 of this Chapter.

[70] PS III, 785^{14}(28,1); 788^{4}(28,1).

[71] PS III, 788^{16}(28,1).

[72] PS III, 65^{1}(3,10); 788^{4}(28,1).

[73] PS III, 69^{6}(3,11); 788^{16}(28,1); 789^{1}(28,2); 789^{23}(28,3); 792^{26}(28,5)..

[74] PS III, 312^{2}(13,3); 380^{18}(15,18); 780^{1}(27,5).

[75] Cf. PS III, 4^{5}; 136^{3}(5,19); 408^{23}(16,10); 564^{4}(20,12); 572^{15-16}(20,15); 573^{8}(20,15); 577^{5}(20,17); 788^{23-24}(28,2); 789^{18}(28,3); 789^{26}(28,3); 792^{13}(28,4); 792^{23}(28,5); 793^{3}(28,5); 797^{8}(28,8).

[76] PS III, 204^{3}(9,1): «living and Holy Spirit which is of the Lord (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ)». See Chap. I, section «2.5.7 The Names Applied to the Holy Spirit».

However when the inbreathing dwells in him, then he is a 'living soul' (ܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ), in the same manner as on the day that the Lord breathed into man after he had created him, and in the same manner as Our Lord 'breathed His Spirit on the face of His disciples'(ܡܬܠܡܕܝܗ ܦܫܚ ܒܐܦ ܪܘܚܗ ܡܢ ܝܗܒ), in order that they might be like Adam was before he sinned[77].

In this context the author put together Gen 2:7 and John 20:22. It is evident that he used the *Old Syriac* version of Gospel according to John. In *Peshitta*, John 20:22 is written as «He breathed on them (ܒܗܘܢ ܢܦܚ)», while the *Old Syriac* version says: «He breathed on their faces (ܢܦܚ ܒܐܦܘܗܝ)»[78]. The author uses the latter version: «Our Lord breathed His Spirit on the face of His disciples (ܡܬܠܡܕܝܗ ܦܫܚ ܒܐܦ ܪܘܚܗ ܡܢ ܝܗܒ)» and makes a situation similar to Gen 2:7. The first man receives an anticipation of the fruits of resurrection. The state of the first man is equated with that of the «Perfect» especially that of the Apostles. The reception of the Holy Spirit is now continuing through baptism[79], the type of His resurrection and the mystery of the new creation.

In the *KM*, the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person is quite subjective. It varies in persons according to their receptive capacity. If one sins, the Spirit of God leaves, and when one repents it comes back and dwells in him, according to his receptivity.

One person's gift is greater, another's lesser, in accordance with its measure; Our Lord gives him as much as his mind can contain. Therefore, people in whom there is a little of Holy Spirit are rejected nor are they perfect and fulfilled. For if the vessel of the human soul is not full of the Spirit of God, it does not receive that total inbreathing by which it becomes a living soul in the

[77] PS III, 788[8-13](28,1):
ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܠ ܐܡܬ ܟܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܐܬ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝ ,ܒܟܐ ܟܠ ,ܡܬܠܡܕܝܗ ܟܡܐ ܠܐܦܘܗܝ ; ܡܬܠܡܕܝܗ ܦܫܚ ܒܐܦ ܪܘܚܗ ܡܢ ܝܗܒ ܒܟܐ ;ܡܬܝܗ ܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܟܐ ܕܐ ܠܗ ܢܫܟܚ ❖

[78] In both *Curetonian* and *Sinaiticus* MSS of the Gospel according to John we read the same expression «He breathed on their faces», cf. *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: The Curetonian* Version, I, F.C. BURKITT, ed., 528-529; *The Old Syriac Gospels*, A.S. LEWIS, ed., ad loc.

[79] See the author's clear words in PS III, 797[8-10](28,8):
❖ܟܐܢܘܢܝܬ ܠܗܘ ܐܝܟ ,ܡܬܩܒܠ ܥܡܕܐ ܕܒܥܕܐ ܕܢܫܬܡܥ ܠܦܩܕܢܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܢܦܫ ܕܟܠ ܒܝܬ
«Therefore one receives the Holy Spirit from Baptism in order that he may obey His commandments and keep them with faith».

beginning. And that gift of which the one — in whom nothing is lacking — is full, is called the Paraclete[80].

While speaking about the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person, we could notice the technical usage of two terms, *viz*., *ʻurbānā* and «Paraclete (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ)»[81]. The term *ʻurbānā* is familiar to us[82]. The expression «Spirit, the Paraclete (ܪܘܚܐ ܦܪܩܠܛܐ)»[83] is denoting the fullness of Spirit present in a human person. It is described as the «greatest of all gifts»[84]. The author himself gives the right explanation of this term:

> Although the Spirit of God which is Holy and the Paraclete are one and the same, [Scripture] speaks of the Spirit Paraclete on the one hand and the Holy Spirit on the other hand, in order to distinguish the greater gifts from the lesser ones; he who receives the Paraclete is made perfect (ܫܠܡ) by this great gift, but those who receive the lesser gifts are not made perfect, because they are lacking. Unless the great gift comes, they are not fulfilled (ܡܠܝ)[85].

The author presents triple gradation in the receptivity of God's Holy Spirit by His creation. For him, the «world (ܥܠܡܐ) cannot contain the Paraclete»[86]. Here the «world» has a figurative meaning of evilness.

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[80] PS III, 788^{20}-789^{6}(28,2):
ܒܡܐ ܕܡ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܫܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܘܡܢ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܡܛܥܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܦܪܩܠܛܐ ❖

[81] PS III, 4^{3}, 17^{10}(1,3); 44^{6}(2,8), 60^{3}(3,7); $68^{2\text{-}3}$(3,10); 69^{9}(3,11); $72^{11\text{-}12.15\text{-}16}$(3,12); 73^{24}(3,13); 76^{4}(3,14); 77^{25}(3,15); $132^{14.17.21.23}$(5,17-18); $133^{1.2.6.12.16.17.19.21}$(5,18-19); 136^{5}(5,19); 141^{13}(6,2); $229^{7.15}$(9,12); 233^{17}(9,14); 316^{6}(13,5); 364^{21}(15,12); $373^{9.20.24.25}$(15,16), *etc*.

[82] The nature of its unique usage in the *KM* is analyzed already, See, Chap.I, section «3.6.3 The True Sense of the Term ܥܪܒܢܐ *ʻurbānā*».

[83] The Syriac term «ܦܪܩܠܛܐ» is from Greek word παράκλητος which means 'an advocate', 'intercessor', 'comforter', *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1252; Payne Smith 465; John 14:16.26.

[84] PS III, 72^{10}(3,12): ܕܡܝܢ ܠܟ ܕܟ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

[85] PS III, 789^{23}-792^{5}(28,3):
ܕܟ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܠܟܠܗ ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܩܪܝܢܢ ܩܠܝܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܡ ܐܢ ܕܟ ܕܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܕܟ ܕܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ❖

[86] PS III, $132^{20\text{-}21}$(5,18): ܦܪܩܠܛܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܢܥ ܠܐ. Once he mentioned about the category of people those who are devoid of the pledge of the Spirit (ܕܟ ܐܝܬ ܩܢܝܢܐ

«Righteous sons of the world can receive only 'gift of the pledge'»[87] while the «Apostles[88] had received the Paraclete»[89].

Now it is clear that the author holds 'a kind of tripartite anthropology' with two natural or created elements to which God adds the third element, the Holy Spirit. The third element is given to the person, *i.e.* it is added to the totality of body-soul. Hence, it is reasonable to consider this tripartite vision of man, as the factor that paved its way to all other peculiarly coined triple gradated metaphors in the *KM*.

1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*

The anthropological vision of the *KM* follows the footsteps of the archaic indigenous mystical perspectives, which presents «the constitution of a human person as a Trinitarian reflection of unity extended to the human body, soul, and Spirit»[90]. Syriac Fathers share the concept of human being as a symbol of the Trinity[91]. It is sure that in the *KM* the author presents a kind of tripartite anthropological vision of man. However, like all other triple gradated realities in the *KM*, which we have seen in the last chapter, here also we could not see any watertight compartments. His preference is not to separate man into three components, but to exhort him to regain and retain the lost integrity, that he enjoyed at the time of his creation. Let us see its sound evidences from the text itself. It expresses the idea of a kind of «unity in trinity», by commenting on the biblical passages Matt 18:19; 21:22 and Mark 11:24:

> This is what Our Lord said: «If two of you agree (ܢܥܪܒ) on earth and keep My words, whatever you ask in prayer and believe, while keeping My words, you will receive». These two are the inner man (ܒܪ ܓܘܐ ܕܓܘ) and the outer

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ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ). Since they do not have the Spirit of God (ܪܘܚ ܐܠܗܐ) at all, they will be rejected, cf. *Ibid.*, 68[14-16](3,11).

[87] PS III, 132[21-22](5,18): ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܐܠܐ ܡܬܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܥܪܒܘܢܐ

[88] The Apostles are the images of the Perfect ones of today, cf. PS III, 232[24-25](9,13).

[89] PS III, 132[23](5,18): ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܦܪܩܠܛܐ, cf. *Ibid.*, 229[15-16](9,12); 364[21-24](15,12).

[90] T. KOLLAMPARAMPIL, «Mystical Legacy», 45.

[91] For such thoughts in Aphrahat see the section «2.3 Tripartite Man: A Reflection of Trinity» of this Chapter. For allusions in Ephrem, cf. *HFid* XIII, 2-3; XVIII, 4-5; XLII, 9-10, in E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 60, 70, 137-138; *HHaer* LII, 1 in E. BECK, ed., *Contra Haereses*, 199; *HVirg* XXXII, 6 in E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 118. Divine Image is imprinted in the whole person, cf. *HVirg* II, 15 in E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 8. Body is the dwelling place of both soul and the spirit, cf. *HNis* XLVII, 5.9; XLIX, 9; L,7; LXIX, 8-12 in E. BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, II, 59.60, 66, 69, 111-112.

man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܘܫܡܢܐ) who agree in the keeping of the commandments; they ask and receive from God the gifts of the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ) who will be given to them in the form of a pledge, and a person will stand as a trinity (ܩܢܘܡܐ)[92] and live[93].

Here the author uses two significant Pauline terminologies, the «inner man (ܓܘܫܡܢܐ ܓܘܐܐ)» and the «outer man (ܓܘܫܡܢܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ)» to speak about an agreement which happens within a person. These two Pauline terms[94] are diffused in early Christian writings and are used by several Syriac writers[95]. However in the *KM,* they are not so frequent and vivid. Nevertheless, we can assume certain facts from the concerned rare descriptions. While speaking about «outer man», the visible bodily aspects of a person are projected and his inclination towards the visible physical realities of this creation emphasized. There are people who have an «external mind (ܪܥܝܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ)»[96], an «exterior understanding (ܪܥܝܢ ܡܕܡܐ)»[97], an «exterior sense perception (ܩܢܘܡ ܩܒܠ ܐ)»[98], an «exterior taste (ܪܥܝܢ ܡܛܥܡ)»[99], an «exterior order (ܪܥܝܢ ܡܛܟܣ)»[100], an «exterior intelligence (ܡܗܝܡܢ

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[92] This word is used in the *KM* only for Holy Trinity, see Chap. I, section «2.5.4 The Presence of the Primitive Trinitarian Theology».

[93] PS III, 792[17-25](28,5):
ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ❖

[94] For the Pauline expressions inner man «ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος» and outer man «ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος», cf. Rom 7:22; 2Cor 4:16.

[95] The expression «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܝ» can be seen in *Exp.* VI of Aphrahat PS I, 252[10](VI,1). Ephrem also uses the expression «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܝ» in his *Hymns Against Heresies,* cf. *HHaer* XXXII, 12[8] in E. Beck, *Contra Haereses,* 130. In XXXV[th] treatise of Isaac of Nineveh I[st] part we can see the expressions «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ» and «ܩܕܝܫܐ ܪܘܚܐ», cf. P. BEDJAN, ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita,* 244[17], 245[3]. In Isaac of Nineveh, part II, too we have the expression «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ» in Chap. VIII, 16[1], in the title of Chap. XIII, and in Chap. XXXI,1[11], cf. S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh*. *The Second Part*, 24, 55, 126. In John the Solitary, the concepts of the «inner man (ܓܘܫܡܢܐ ܓܘܐܐ)» and «outer man (ܓܘܫܡܢܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ)» are well developed and became the integral part of the threefold schema about which discussion will be there in sections 3.1.2 c) and 3.1.3 a) of this Chapter.

[96] PS III, 793[12](28,6).

[97] PS III, 793[13](28,6).

[98] PS III, 793[13](28,6).

[99] PS III, 793[14](28,6).

[100] PS III, 793[14](28,6).

ܚܢ)»[101], all belonging to their «outer man»[102]. Their visible organs are helping them to have a feeling for the things of this world. But they cannot acquire anything the 'body and flesh do not see and hear' (ܦܓܪ ܘܒܣܪ ܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥ)[103].

The *KM* again speaks about «the inner eyes and ears (ܥܝܢܐ ܘܐܕܢܐ ܕܠܒܐ)»[104] and «an inner intelligence (ܪܥܝܐ ܡܠܐܝ)»[105]. Just as physical injuries that cause physical blindness these internal organs can be injured because of «sin (ܚܛܝܬܐ)»[106]. If it happens so, one does not see or hear hidden things (ܡܟܣܝܐ)[107]. These «interior organs (ܐܒܪܝ ܦܓܪܐ)»[108] are called the «organs of soul (ܦܓܪܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ)»[109]. Hence, it is right to consider the «outer man» as the bodily elements of a person and the «inner man» as the characteristic of the soul. In John the Solitary, the term «outer man» had got a different connotation. He used this term to refer to a person who is inclined to worldly desires[110]. In the *KM*, this usage is not so vivid.

Our next attention goes to the exhortation of the *KM* to have an agreement between 'outer man' and 'inner man'[111]. The concerned verb

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[101] PS III, 793[14-15](28,6).

[102] Cf. PS III, 793[12-15](28,6).

[103] Cf. PS III, 793[19-20](28,6).

[104] PS III, 793[21](28,6).

[105] PS III, 793[21](28,6).

[106] Cf. PS III, 793[16-22](28,6).

[107] Cf. PS III, 793[23-24](28,6). Hidden things (ܡܟܣܝܐ) are described as «those things which appertain to the world of truth and not visible (ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ)», *Ibid.*, 796[4-6](28,6).

[108] PS III, 796[18](28,7).

[109] PS III, 796[21](28,7).

[110] For the details of its usage in John the Solitary, see the section «3.1.2 c) A Soulish Man: An Outer Man» of this Chapter.

[111] Here the author never stands alone. The exhortations to hold the unity between body and soul is quite common in Ephrem. See some examples. He says that without soul, body is only a silent harp. See *HPar* VIII, 8[1-6]:

ܟܕ ܐܝܕ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܨܘܪܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܫܒܚ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܗܢ ܟܢܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܩܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܥܕ ܕܢܦܚ ܒܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܡܠܠ ܒܗ / ܗܟܢܐ ܢܣܒ ܩܠ ܘܢܫܬܡܥ ܡܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܡܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܢܡܠܠ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ / ܘܐܦ ܒܟܠ ܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܡܕܪܫܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܒܪ ܦܐܛܝ ❊

«When the hand of the creator fashioned and formed the body – so that it might sing hymns to its maker, this lyre was silent and had not voice, until at last He breathed into it the soul which sang therein. Thus the strings acquired sound, and the soul, by means of the body, acquired speech to utter wisdom», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 34; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. BROCK, 134. In his *Discourse against Bardaisan* XXXII, Ephrem says about the mutual dependence of body and soul:

«ܢܬܥܒܕܘ» deserves our attention. This is the third person masculine plural of *ethpe'l* of «ܥܒܕ»[112] in the imperfect tense. The verb ܐܬܥܒܕ means 'to be or become equal', 'placed on an equality', 'to be esteemed worthy', 'to join together', 'to agree'[113] *etc*. The appreciation for the «outer man» and hence indirectly that for the body or visible creation is clear in that expression. The author never disregards body or its characteristics and never considers it as an impediment to reach the state of Perfection. He only asked to keep it at the proper level.

We can see its parallels in Origen (*c*. 185-254 AD). In his *Dialogue with Heraclides* he spoke about the «inner man» and «outer man» with a striking 'apparent similarity'with that of the *KM*[114]. Even though they share many similar expressions there exists a radical difference. For

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ܦܓܪܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ ܘܒܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ ܐܬܟܒܕܘ ܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܐܬܝܩܪܘ ܐܬܒܙܝܘ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒܚܕ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܚܕ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒܚܕ ܐܬܝܩܪܘ ܘܚܕ ܐܬܒܙܝܘ ܒܚܕ ܐܬܟܒܕܘ ܘܚܕ ܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܒܚܕ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܘܚܕ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܚܕ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܘܚܕ ܐܬܦܪܫ

Origen, this «outer man» or «body» is not created in the image of God but formed from the dust and can never be perfect[115].

Such a radical position is not found in the *KM*. The author of the *KM* never separates «outer man» from «inner man». For him, the integrity of both constitutes a person and this integral person is on the way to perfection. Each person has an «outer man» and an «inner man» in him. While speaking about the renewal, the author presents the passage not from «outer man» to «inner man» but from «old man» to «new man». The author says that «let us fast and pray until he perfects from our old man, from the outer and from the inner (ܕܢܬܓܕܫ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܥܬܝܩܐ ܕܢܬܓܕܫ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ)»[116]. It never disregards the external aspects but exhorts for an agreement or harmony between both.

The author of the *KM* knows well the fact that the person in his integrity should grow in perfection and there exists a strong bond between body and soul. He emphasis the fact that, «neither human being nor Satan is capable of making the soul depart from the body unless God wishes to affect its departure through their agency»[117]. Normally the separation of body from the soul is intended as death in a biological context. In the *KM*, there are three kinds of death related to the body. It presents the interconnection between the «ܦܓܪ - body», the «ܡܘܬܐ - death» and the «ܚܛܗ - sin». For the author, minor interest is there while speaking about the physical death. He speaks few words about the separation of the soul from the body[118], but with a strong belief in the resurrection (ܩܝܡܬܐ) that is to come and the glory that is prepared for the bodies and souls[119]. He says: «When we depart from the body we shall be with Our Lord[120] until that judgment day

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[115] *Cels.* VI, 63, cf. ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, in PG 11, 1393; ID., *Hom. 1-20 in Ier.*, I, 10, in PG 13, 265; English trans., in *Homilies on Jeremiah*, tr. J.C. Smith, 13; ID., *Hom. 1-16 in Gen.*, I, 13, in PG 12, 155-156; English trans., *Homilies on Genesis*, tr. R.E. Heine, 63. For a detailed study on this, cf. C.F. JACOBSEN, «Genesis 1-3 as Source for the Anthropology of Origen», 213-232. Here Origen invites the reader to glance at the scriptural style, which uses the bodily realities to describe spiritual realities. Hence Origen explains that each part of the exterior human being has its corresponding part and homonym in the interior human being.

[116] PS III, 856^{11-13}(29,19).

[117] PS III, 157^{2-3}(7,5):
ܠܟ ܕܝ ܚܫܒ ܚܢܢܐ ܕܡ ܗܠܟ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝ ܟܡ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬܓܕܫ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘ

comes, the bodies of the entire Perfect will be resurrected in glory; and they will be swallowed up in the light of their spirits, and glorified with Our Lord forever and ever»[121].

While speaking about the death, the author seems to be more interested in its connection with the sin. We have already seen in the second chapter that «the taste of death» is the loss of Perfection [122]. The *KM* even identifies death as sin[123]. Again we can see positive remarks about a kind of «death of body». The *KM* repeatedly exhorts that the body should be dead on account of sin[124], *i.e.* it should follow a deliberative inactiveness during sinful situations.

Since the author is very conscious of retaining the unity between body and soul[125] he is against all the tendencies to spiritualize asceticism. One should be an ascetic when he practises the asceticism physically and spiritually. He speaks about the need for physical renunciation (ܪܓܫܢܝܬܐ ܚܝܠܐ) and the hidden renunciation of the heart (ܪܓܫܢܝܬܐ ܟܣܝܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)[126]. He exhorts to diligence in the «visible Church» to foster the hidden «Church of the heart»[127]. He brings the example of Our Lord, who blessed and prayed physically and spiritually[128]. The eschatological bliss is addressed not to any specific element of man, but to the integral man: «then Our Lord will come and take him away completely from this world, as he already took away his mind and introduced it into Paradise, and there, in the heavenly Jerusalem will be his dwelling place»[129].

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[121] PS III, 372[20-25](15,15):
ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܒܓܘܫܡܗ ܕܡܬ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܢܦܫܗ ܘܒܪܘܚܗ ܘܒܓܘܫܡܗ ܕܩܝܡ ܘܡܬܬܠܒܫ ܒܗ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܡܬܩܕܫ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ❖

[122] See Chap. II, section «1.1.2 b) + *The Taste of Death*».

[123] PS III, 880[15-16](30,7): «death that dwells in their body which is hidden sin (ܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܓܘܫܡܗ ܕܒܟܝܢ ܗܘ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܟܣܝܬܐ)».

[124] PS III, 905[7-8](30,18): «ܒܟܝܢ ܗܘ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ», cf. *Ibid*, 348[4](15,5); 904[16](30,18); 905[9](30,18).

[125] PS III, 264[3-17](10,8).

[126] Cf. PS III, 285[1-10](12,1).

[127] The subject matter of our thesis and discussion is there in the next chapter.

[128] PS III, 285[8-9](12,1): ܘܒܗܝ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܓܫܢܝܬܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܪܝ ܕܢܒܪܟ

[129] PS III, 144[10-14](6,2):
ܘܡܫܬܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܡܥܠ ܠܗ ܠܓܢܬ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܬܡ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܗ ❖ ܘܒܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ

1.3 *Tripartite Man and Perfection*

As we have seen already, the person in his integrity should be perfect. All the visible attempts for it should be accompanied by the interior disposition of the heart. The *KM* narrates the role of the body, soul (mind / heart) and the Holy Spirit in this process.

1.3.1 The Body (ܦܓܪܐ) and the Perfection

The body (ܦܓܪܐ) of a person has its due role in the spiritual journey of Perfection. The «body» in its wider sense includes the whole creation conceived and fashioned by the Creator God. Its visible character is much appreciated in early Syriac tradition[130]. It is evident in the whole work of the *KM* that maintains a very positive approach to the corporality of this world and considers the state of man in his body as the starting point of the journey to Perfection. However, the author exhorts towards a detachment from worldly inclinations. Many times we have his advice to become a «foreigner (ܓܝܪܐ)» or a «stranger (ܐܦܣܢܩܐ)» or a «ܟܬܝܒܐ (sojourner)»[131] while being in a body on the earth. In the VI[th] *Exposition* of Aphrahat there is the same expression: «let us be strangers to the world (ܢܗܘܐ ܓܝܪܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ)»[132]. Again, there is a notable expression in the *KM* to indicate this detachment, «fasting to the world (ܨܘܡ ,ܠܥܠܡܐ)»[133] which signifies the

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[130] Ephrem narrates its role as an agent of all virtues in *HVirg* II, 15[1-4]:
ܒܚܟ ܚܣܝܢ ܒܥܝܢܝܟ ܫܡܥ ܩܫܝܛ ܒܐܕܢܝܟ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܥܠ ܠܫܢܟ/ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܝܟ ܙܕܩܬܐ ܦܪܘܩ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܚܠܝܐ ܘܒܩܪ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܥܠ ܐܝܩܘܢ ܡܪܝܟ/ ܕܠܒܟ ܢܛܪ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܟ ܒܢܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܒܥܠ

ascetical withdrawal from the world through a life of celibacy[134]. It was a commonly used phrase in Syria known to the author by his contact with some earlier source[135]. In this exhortation, the «world (ܥܠܡܐ)» is used figuratively in the Johannine sense of the evil from which Christians need to abstain[136] and is the aim of all bodily fasting[137]. The *KM* is not against having a body but against its living by world's sensual instincts. Hence, it exhorts not for the eradication of corporality, but its redirection or transfiguration.

This state of estrangement or detachment of body from the terrestrial realities is expressed through certain crucial verbs like, 'to strip' (ܚܠܨ)[138], 'to subdue' (ܟܒܫ)[139], 'to be enslaved' (ܐܬܥܒܕ)[140], 'to break' (ܫܒܪ)[141], *etc*. To be stripped off «ܚܠܨ» is to attain a state of nakedness. The *KM* says that the body should be naked[142], *i.e*. being stripped of everything on the

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[134] Cf. A. BAKER, «Fasting to the World», 294; J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 303.

[135] It is there in the 27th logion of *EvThom*: «If you do not fast from the world you will not find the Kingdom», *Gospel of Thomas*, tr. S. Davies, 39. In the *A. Paul. et Thecl.*, it is written that: «blessed are they who have despised this world, for they shall be pleasing unto God (ܛܘܒܝܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܫܒܩܘ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܫܦܝܪܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ)», *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ملت (132)[3-4]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 118. For the equivalent expression from the Greek version of *A. Paul. et Thecl.*: «μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ», see *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, in R. A. LIPSIUS – M. BONNET, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 238[15]. Since the author had the access to ancient apocryphal texts and various agraphas it is quite possible to use a common expression of his era to explain his idea. A. Baker did a detailed analysis of the above mentioned expression by analyzing its usages in Greek as well as Syriac literatures, cf. A. BAKER, «Fasting to the World», 291-294. We could see the same usage in Aphrahat, see PS I, 612[25-27](XIV,16):

ܚܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܝܬܝܢ ܘܡܬܪܚܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܗܘܬܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܟܠ ܫܥܒܕܬܗ ܢܨܘܡ

«Those who are dead to the world and who refrain from lusts will fast from the world and and all its perils».

[136] Cf. A. BAKER, «Fasting to the World», 293.

[137] Cf. J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 303.

[138] Cf. Payne Smith, 428. A different verb ܥܠܣ is also used to give the sense of 'to strip', cf. PS III, 77[6-8](3,14).

[139] Cf. Payne Smith, 204; PS III, 808[1.4](29,1); 816[2](29,2); 909[12](30,20).

[140] Cf. PS III, 808[1](29,1); 809[1](29,1). The verb ܥܒܕ in its *shaphel* form ܐܬܥܒܕ means 'make serve', 'enslave', 'subdue', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 396.

[141] Payne Smith, 604.

[142] It is already seen that the nakedness was a symbol of the holiness of the first parents, see Chap. II, Section «1.1.2 b) + The Loss of the Invisible Eye».

Earth[143]. The verbs ܚܨܐ and ܥܒܕ are used almost in all instances as the Pauline expression from 1Cor 9:27: «I subdue and enslave my body». Here the intent is that one's body should not be inclined to worldly instincts but should be the part of the integral person. The fourth verb 'to break' (ܫܒܪ) has a technical meaning in the *KM*[144]. While speaking about 'breaking of sin' [145] or 'breaking one's body' in an ascetical context[146] this verb is used. Here ܫܒܪ is used to denote 'to break', in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to defeat'. Since we could see similar usages in Aphrahat[147], the *KM* may be sharing the mode of usage of this verb by 4th cent. AD Syriac writers. All these verbs and associated expressions depict the role of the body as a battlefield in the ascetical war to attain perfection.

At the end of this war if the warrior wins he is not in need of a battlefield anymore and his body will become «the temple of God». This is also an imagery much used by several Christian writers[148]. Here the author follows the Apostle Paul who drew a direct connection between the temple and human body[149]. The believing person's responsibility to make his body temple and heart the altar[150] is the main concern of the author. Since the topic comes under the «Church of the Heart», the detailed study is there in next chapter.

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[143] Cf. PS III, 588^{25}-589^{1}(21,2).

[144] Cf. J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 299.

[145] Cf. PS III, 716^{23-25}(24,1); 885^{17-20}(30,10).

[146] Through ascetical practises one can break down his body (ܡܚܝܢ ܕܫܒܪ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ), his spirit is strengthened by Our Lord (ܘܒܚܝܠ ܡܬܬܚܫܠ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ), cf. PS III, 825^{7-8}(29,5).

[147] While speaking about the power of the sin that afflicts human beings, Aphrahat refers to «broken sting of death» from 1Cor 15:55-56 and «yoke of iron that is broken from the neck of men» from Jer 28:14. Cf. PS I, 268^{23}(VI,6); 216^{20-21}(V,16); J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 299.

[148] In Ephrem, we can see a beautiful expression that in baptism the body is made a temple by the Carpenter of Life. See *HVirg* I, 2^{1-6}:

ܠܐ ܡܒܝ ܠܚ ܡܢ ܕܥܒ ܫܟ [ܒܚ] / ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܕܒܗܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝ ܚܢ ܟܝ ܟܝ
ܟܚܕ / [ܫܒܪ] ܟܘܢ ܟܒܫ ܘܡ / [ܟܬܒ ,ܡܢܐ ܒܚܕ] ܒܗ ܠܟ / [ܡܢܚܠ] ܟܘܢ
ܟܝ ܐܒܝܟ ܕܘܒܟ ܟܡܠ / ܟܝ ܒܟ ܕܘܡܐ ܒܢ ܒܝ ܠܟ ܡܒܐ ܕܘܡ ❖ ܡܒܐ

«For by baptism Our Lord made new your old age / He the Carpenter of life, Who by His blood formed and built a temple for His dwelling / do not allow that old man to dwell in the renewed temple / O body, if you have God live in your Temple / you will also become His royal palace», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 1; English trans., *Ephrem the Syrian Hymns*, K.E. MCVEY, tr., 262. In Aphrahat too this imagery is strong and we see it in next chapter.

[149] Cf. 1Cor 3:9-17; 6:19; 2Cor 2:17.

[150] Cf. PS III, 289^{18}(12,2); $292^{9.11}$(12,2); 293^{4}(12,3); 301^{18}(12,7).

1.3.2 The Soul (ܢܦܫ) and the Perfection

Just as the body which represents the «outer man» plays a vital role in the process of regaining perfection, the «soul» or the «mind» or the «heart» which represents the «inner man» also has a parallel role. Let us concentrate on certain terms and expressions, which speak about the role of our «inner man», *i.e.* our «soul / mind / heart» in this process.

a) *The Purity and the Luminosity*

There are two crucial terminologies in the *KM* that are associated with the «inner man», *viz*., the 'purity' (*dakyūtā*) and the 'luminosity' (*šapyūtā*). We have made a detailed study of the the term *dakyūtā* in the Chapter II[151]. The next term *šapyūtā* is also mentioned nominally in a previous section[152]. It is hard to translate this term with a single English equivalent. It can have the connotations of 'purity', 'clarity', 'luminosity', 'serenity', 'limpidity', 'transparency', *etc*[153]. The term «*šapyūtā*» can be seen in several Syriac spiritual writings[154].

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[151] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 a) + A State of Purity (ܕܟܝܘܬܐ)».

[152] See the section «1.1.2 Soul (ܢܦܫ)» of this Chapter.

[153] It derives from the root ܫܦܪ which means 'to clear', 'to plane', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 589-590.

[154] Ephrem uses it as a title for Christ. He calls Christ as «the Luminous One (ܫܦܝܪܐ)». See *HFid* LXXXI, 3^{1-2}: «In its luminosity I saw the Luminous One (ܚܙܝܬ ܒܫܦܝܪܘܬܗ ܕܫܦܝܪܐ)», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 249. Again n *HFid* LIX, 11^{1-2}: «The clear font, that proceeds from the Luminous One never troubled (ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܨܠܝܠ ܕܡܢ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܪܓܙ ܒܪܓܙܐ)», *Ibid*, 184. In *HNis* XXXII, 14^{2} Ephrem addresses Christ as: «the Innocent One the vessel of luminosity (ܙܟܝܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܕܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ)», E. BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, I, 78. In his *Commentary to Genesis* Ephrem remarks that luminosity of Noha's heart pleased Lord of all. See *CGen* Sectio VI, 13:

ܡܢ ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܪܝܚ ܒܣܪ ܒܗܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܠܒܘܬ ܠܒܐ ܕܦܫܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܩܪܒ ܢܘܚ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ ✣

«The Lord smelled not the smell of the flesh of animals or the smoke of wood, but he looked out and saw the simplicity of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܕܫܦܝܪܐ) with which [Noah] offered the sacrifice from all and on behalf of all», R.-M. TONNEAU, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii*, 62^{3-5}; English trans., *Commentary on Genesis*, trs. E.G. Mathews – J.P. Amar, in K. MCVEY, ed., *St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works*, 142. The term *šapyūtā* as the original state of mind is there in Isaac of Nineveh VIII, 15^{6}, cf. S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*, 23.

It is not possible to find the noun form *šapyūtā* in the *Peshitta*. However, S.P. Brock[155] noted out that it is there in 4Esdra VI, 32 and *Apoc. Bar(Syr)*, LXVI, 1[156]. But in the *Peshitta* NT, Luke 8:15 «ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ» is translated as «ܥܦܝܐ ܠܒܐ». The Greek word καλός means 'beautiful', 'moral beauty', 'virtue',[157] *etc*. It seems that the *Peshitta* gives emphasis to its moral sense and provides the expression «ܥܦܝܐ ܠܒܐ», a phrase familiar to the Syriac patristic tradition. S.P. Brock describes it as «a condition of receptivity to the light of the revelation of divine mysteries»[158]. According to him, the origins of the usage of this terminology used by Syriac writers show their contact with Jewish Targumic tradition[159]. Unlike in John the Solitary[160], here in the *KM*, we can observe *dakyūtā* and *šapyūtā* as synonyms. Even though these two terms emphasize the character of one's «inner man», *i.e*. of the heart or of the mind, they never exclude the «outer man». The expression the «luminosity of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܙܗܝܘܬܐ)» is found only once in the *KM*: «If you wish to become perfect and be made pure, pursue justice of the heart and of the body and 'luminosity', lowliness and peace of the heart and body»[161]. Here «luminosity» is not reserved exclusively for the heart, but the body can also access it. The same term is there in association with the mind. The author says that our father rebelled from the «grace of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܙܗܝܪܐ)»[162] and from the «luminosity

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[155] See f.no. 15[2] in *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*, tr. S.P. Brock, 29.

[156] «ܙܗܝܘܬܟ ܚܙܐ ܕܫ ܠܥܠܡ ܣܓܝ (For Mighty has seen your luminosity)», *Liber IV Esdrae Syriace*, in A. M. CERIANI, ed., *Sacra et Profana*, V.1, 61. « ܐܠܝܢ ܗܢ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܙܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܡܝ̈ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ ܐܠܝܢ ܗܢ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܙܪܥܐ ܕܝܘܫܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ,ט ,ת ܫܢܝ (the bright tenth waters that you saw – these are the faithfulness (ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ) of the generation of Josiah, the king of Judah)», *Apocalypsis Baruch Syriace*, in A. M. CERIANI, ed., *Sacra et Profana*, V.2, 158; *Liber Apocalypseos Baruch*, M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr., PS II, 1184[4-6]; English trans., *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, tr. R.H. Charles – rv. L.H. Brockington, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 880.

[157] Cf. H.G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 870.

[158] S.P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 79.

[159] The Palestinian Targum on Gen 22:6 gives us the phrase «ܥܦܝܐ ܠܒܐ». Again Ps 51:17 in the Targum we can see the expression: «a broken and luminous heart», cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 73.

[160] He uses these terms with qualitative difference. See the section «3.1.2 d) The Elevation from the Soulish Man to Spiritual Man», of this Chapter.

[161] PS III, 253[25]-256[2](10,4):
ܐܢ ܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܙܟܝܐ ܘܬܬܕܟܐ ܒܦܪܫ ܙܕܘ ܘܙܗܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܕܓܫܡܐ ܘܙܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܕܓܫܡܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ ܕܥܡ ܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ

[162] PS III, 644[11](22,4).

of the mind (ܪܥܝܢ ܪܚܝܢ)»[163], and acquired the heart that knows evil by its own choice[164]. Hence, we can say that the body, the mind, and the heart, in short, the integral person can enjoy «luminosity». The «purity of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܕܟܝܐ)»[165] is almost synonymous with the above usages[166]. Being aware of the possibility of the presence of sin in the human heart[167] the *KM* repeatedly exhorts towards achieving the lost purity or luminosity of the heart[168]. Jesus restored this lost purity and in Him everything is made new again[169]. He opened the way to make it our own once again. Certain traditional imageries that are used in the *KM* to depict the attempts of the «inner man» to regain this lost luminous state is going to be studied in the next section.

+ The Robe of Glory

It is discussed in the Chapter II that the *KM* presents man in his created purity as one having a mind «clothed» in glory[170]. Here the author uses the

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[163] PS III, 644[11](22,4). The same expression is there in Isaac of Nineveh, XXI, 7[6] in S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*, 103.

[164] Cf. PS III, 644[11-12](22,4).

[165] We have several examples of the expression related to «ܠܒܐ ܕܟܝܐ − purity of the heart» in *Peshitta* OT and NT, cf. Ps 51:12; Prov 20:9. 22:11; Job 14:4; Matt 5:8 *etc*. For the usage of this expression in *Peshitta,* cf. D.A. DEMPSEY, «The Phrase "Purity of Heart"», 32-34. For a brief analysis of its usage in the *KM*, cf. *Ibid.*, 38-40. There is a definition of the expression «purity of soul» in the *Paradise of the Fathers*, the edited work of Anân Îshô. In the section of *Questions of the Brethren*, 96 (ܝ ܗ), as a reply to the question: «What is purity of Soul? (ܡܢܘ ܗܘ ܕܟܝܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ؟)» The old man said «Remoteness from anger, and the error of remembrance of evil things, being weaned from a bitter disposition, friendliness towards our enemies, peace which is superior to troubling, and 'luminosity of love' (ܪܚܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ) which is above the world; by means of these the 'inner man is purified' (ܒܗܝܢ ܡܬܕܟܝ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܓܘܐ) , and he 'put out on Christ' (ܘܠܒܫ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ), and is redeemed». For the Syriac text, cf. P. BEDJAN, ed., *Paradisus Patrum*, 972; English trans., *The Book of Paradise*, II, E.A.W. BUDGE, ed. − tr., 1070. (translation is slightly modified from that of Budge).

[166] Cf. PS III, 920[4](30,24); 529[2](20,1).

[167] Cf. PS III, 341[1-25](15,3); 437[2.21](18,3); 532[10](20,3); 536[7](20,4); 540[3](20,6); 544[9](20,7); 556[4](20,10); 568[5-6](20,14); 165[23](7,12); 581[7](20,17); 697[22-24](23,4).

[168] PS III, 277[16](11,3); 304[20](12,7); 405[23](16,9); 440[10](18,3); 580[21](20,17).

[169] Cf. 2Cor 5:17.

[170] See Chap.II, section «1.1.1 a) + A Mind Clothed with Glory». Pseudo-Macarius shares a similar idea. According to him the human soul is adorned by the ineffable garments of heavenly beauty flowing out of the Godhead. Cf. *P-Mac.Hom.* I, 11 in PG 34, 461.

clothing metaphor to describe the initial state of man. The clothing imageries have their foundation in the Bible[171] and their usage was common among many Syriac writers[172]. The theme related to clothing like 'put on a body' (ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ)[173] is a diffused expression to speak about the

[171] For its biblical background, cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Robe of Glory», 247-259. The Hebrew Bible is very rich in clothing imagery which becomes even more prominent in *Peshitta*, its Syriac translation. There are certain verses unique to *Peshitta* which express prominence of clothing imageries: Ps 8:6 in *Peshitta*: «You created man a little less than angels; in honor and glory did 'you clothe him' (ܬܐܟܣ)». Hebrew, Septuagint and Targum says «you crown him (תְּעַטְּרֵהוּ / ἐστεφάνωσας)». *Peshitta* Heb 5:7 speaks of Christ «being clothed in flesh (ܠܒܫ ܒܣܪܐ)» while Greek says «in the days of his flesh (ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ)». Heb 10:5 in *Peshitta*: «you clothed me in a body (ܦܓܪܐ ܠܝ ܐܟܣܬ)» while in Greek «You prepared a body for me (σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι)», cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Robe of Glory», 247-259.

[172] The use of the imagery of «clothing» was diffused among early Christian writers. Cf. IRENAEUS OF LYONS, *Adversus haereses liber tertius*, XXIII, 5 in A. ROUSSEAU – L. DOUTRELEAU, eds., *Contre les Hérésies. Livre III*, 458-461; in PG 7, 965. It was a common practice among the Syrian fathers to narrate the entire span of salvation history using the imagery of «clothing». Brock sorted out four main scenes out of them a) Before the fall, Adam and Eve werte in Paradise clothed with «robes of glory» or «of light» b) At the fall, they stripped off their «robes of glory». c) In order to re-clothe mankind in the «robes of glory», the Word of God Himself «puts on Adam», when He «puts on a body». When descended into Jordan, Christ deposited the «robe of Glory» in the water. d) Through Baptism, one can regain his robe of glory which Christ left there. Thus «robe of Glory», which Adam and Eve lost in Paradise at the fall is recovered by a Christian at Baptismal font in potential; not yet fully in reality which will realize only at the end of time. Thus Baptism becomes a re-entry into Paradise which is not just the «Paradise of the beginning of time, but also an eschatological Paradise». S.P. BROCK, «Clothing Metaphors», 13. All these scenes are summed up in a single stanza by Ephrem in *HNat* XXIII, 13[1-5]:

ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܚܠܦ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܢܢ ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ / ܫܒܩ ܠܒܫ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܠܒܫ ܐܒܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܗܝ ܙܘ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ
ܕܐܒܐ ܠܒܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܗ ܐܒܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܗ ܙܘ

incarnation of Our Lord who received a human body. The synonymic expression 'put on humanity' (ܠܒܫ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ)[174] is also found in early Syriac writings. Similarly other clothing imageries well developed in Syriac tradition *viz*., 'put on Christ' (ܠܒܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ)[175], 'wedding garment' (ܣܘܬܐ

English trans., *Ibid*., II, 188; 207; 210. Detailed studies are there about the incarnation as clothing with a body, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 310-312; H. HUNT, *Clothed in the Body*, 93-157; ID., «Garment of Flesh», 167-176; O. SHCHURYK, «*L^{e}bēš pagrā'* as the Language of "Incarnation"», 419-444. We could see this expression several times in the *Expositions* of Aphrahat, cf. PS I, 980$^{15-16}$(XXI,20); 996^{23}(XXII,4); PS II, 32^{3}(XXIII,11); 65^{6}(XXIII,20); 96$^{18-19}$(XXIII,49); 97^{20}(XXIII,50), *etc*.

[174] In Act VII of *A. Thom.* there is an expression 'put on humanity' (ܠܒܫ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ), cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܢ (250)^{5}; English trans. *Ibid*., II, 216. Aphrahat too uses the same expression, cf. PS I, 136^{8}(III,16).

[175] The usage that 'the Christian «puts on Christ (ܠܒܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ)» at baptism' has its roots in the Epistles of Paul, cf. Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. Its close connection with 'Adam typology' is well explained by S.P. Brock: «The first Adam loses the robe of glory at the fall. The second Adam puts on the body of the first Adam in order to restore the robe of glory to mankind in Baptism; the Christian puts on «the new man» or Christ at baptism, at the same time putting on the 'robe of glory'. In these closely linked stages of salvation history there is a certain merging of identity between the first and the second Adam: the brought a loss of the first Adam's true identity; God then puts on Adam/Man in order that Adam/Man may put on God, in other words may attain, not just his pre-fall status, but the status of divinity which was the intention of his creation», S.P. BROCK, «Clothing Metaphors», 16.

ܟܣܝܬܐ)[176], 'robe of glory,[177] *etc*., are provided a profound theology[178]. The *KM* too received much from these traditional expressions and plenty of

[176] This traditional imagery has its allusion to the parable of the wedding in Matt 22:1-14. In his *Exp.* VI, Aphrahat associates the imagery of wedding garments with purity, see PS I, 240[11-12](VI,1): « ܢܬܟܣܐ ܘܢܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܬܢ ܟܠ ܛܘܡܐ ܕܢܬܠܒܫ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܥܠ (Let us strip off and cast off, from ourselves all impurity, so that we might put on wedding garments)». In Ephrem' *Hymns on Virginity* there is a similar usage, see *HVirg*, XXXIII, *'Onīṭā*: «ܐܠܗܝ ܠܘܬ ܥܒܕܟ ܐܣܦ ܠܝ ܠܒܘܫ ܚܬܢܘܬܟ – ܕܐܥܠ ܠܬ ܒܝܬ ܚܕܪܟ ܕܢܥܠ (Hold me to O Lord, worthy to enter your glorious bridal chamber with your garments)», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 120. This imagery describes the tension between sacred and historical time. The provision of the wedding garment is here understood as taking place in historical time, at baptism; while the actual wedding feast belong to the eschaton. Then those who have preserved their 'wedding garment' spotless will fully realize the existence of their 'robes of glory', cf. S.P. BROCK, «Clothing Metaphors», 20; ID., *Luminous Eye*, 95. This eschatological robe of glory that we receive though Our Lord at our Baptism is same as that belonged to Adam. It is very evident in Ephrem's *Hymns of Paradise*, *HPar* VI, 9[1-3]:

ܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܛܠܝ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܒܣܐ ܕܬܐܬܐ / ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܠܒܘܫ ܥܠ ܘܠܐ ܥܘܡܕ ܒܟܠܝܡܘܬܐ / ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܢ ܫܟܚܘ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܠܐܕܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܠܒܘܫ ܥܠ ܘܠܐ ܥܘܡܕ ܒܟܠܝܡܘܬܐ / ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܢ ܫܟܚܘ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܠܐܕܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ

«Among the stripped none is naked, for they have put on glory / nor is there any clad in fig leaves, or standing in shame / For they have found, through Our Lord, the robe that belongs to Adam», E. BECK,ed., *De Paradiso*, 21; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 112 (translation is slightly varied from that of Brock for literal accuracy).

[177] Origin of this terminology lies in Gen 3:21 which speaks about the «garments of skin (כָּתְנוֹת עוֹר)» that made by God for Adam and his wife. In Targum tradition, the exegetes stood on the similarity between two key words «עור» and «אור» – with only a single letters difference – which means «skin» and «light» respectively. According to *Midrash Rabbah* on Genesis, Rabbi Meir have possessed a Hebrew MS of the Pentateuch in which Gen 3:21 reads as «garment of light» instead of «garment of skin», see Chap. XX,12 of *Genesis Rabbah*: «In R. Meir's Torah it was found written, Garments of light (or): this refers to Adam's garments which were like a torch [shedding radiance], broad at the bottom and narrow at the top», *Midrash Bereshit Rabba*, J. THEODOR – CH. ALBECK, eds., 196; English trans., *Midrash Rabbah*, I, H. FREEDMAN – M. SIMON, eds., 171. Hence traditionally it is believed that Adam wore a «robe of glory» at his creation which he had lost at his fall. For the origin and development of clothing metaphors, specially the concept of «robe of glory», cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 85-97; ID., «Clothing Metaphors», 11-38; ID., «Jewish traditions in Syriac Sources», 221-223. Even though the idea of primordial «robe of glory», originated by Jewish speculations concerning Gen 3:21 it reached the Christian circles and was developed by many Syriac Fathers. For illustrative texts for this theme from various Syriac Fathers, cf. ID., «Clothing Metaphors», 21-28. This line of thought is diffused in many apocryphal circles. The Chap. XX of *Apoc. Mos.* speaks about the loss of the robe of Glory of Adam, cf. *Apocalypsis Mosis*, in C. TISCHENDORF, ed., *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 11; English trans. in F.C. CONYBEARE, «On the Apocalypse

such expressions like «clothing of perfection»[179], «put on Christ»[180], «put on the new man»[181], «put on the image of man»[182], *etc.*, can be seen

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of Moses», 219-235. It has also some mythical background; the Akkadian *ṣubāt bašti* «robe of splendour», lost by Ishtar during her descent to the underworld has some correspondence with it, cf. D. FREEDMAN, «Ṣubāt bašti», 91-95.

[178] In the biblical literature originated in the Ancient Near East 'clothing' is an expression of identity while 'nakedness' represents the loss of identity. But the Greek tradition follows a sharp contrast, where 'nakedness' represents an aesthetic and a philosophical ideal. Since early Christianity was heir to both these traditions, both aspects can be seen in ancient Christian literature. In Greek approach the 'fall' consists in the loss of a state of innocent nakedness and the consequent need of clothing by fig tree leaves and garments of skin. Cf. C. NOCE, *Vestis Varia*, 77-124. In Semitic approach the fall involves the loss of the 'robe of glory' which results in the covering up of an inferior garment. S.P. Brock makes a comparative observation of Christian literature belonging to both Greek and Syriac traditions: «Writers influenced by Neo-Platonism in particular would emphasize the stripping off of the soul's garment (whether this be the body or the passions), while for those who remained closer to the biblical tradition what was important was that the garment should be the proper one», cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Robe of Glory», 247.

[179] While speaking about the repentance and returning of a penitent in the context of the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-32) author speaks about the «clothing of perfection» in PS III, 381^{5-11}(15,18). See the text:

ܟ ܒܗ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ

throughout the work. When we think about the role of 'soul' or 'heart' or 'mind' associated with the journey of perfection, one of these imageries, the «robe or garment of glory», receives a significant role. In the *KM*, the first parents in their original state enjoyed the privilege of wearing this garment on their mind[183], while their bodies were nude[184]. But after the fall there happened a reversal, the mind lost the covering of glory[185], but God presented 'garments of skin' (ܟܣܘܬ ܥܠܝܐ) to cover their nude bodies[186]. They became aware of their nakedness only after the stripping of glory from their mind. Anyway, it is very clear in the *KM* that this clothing of glory was never intended to cover their physical nudity and hence not at all a reason to explain the absence of shame in the first parents about their nudity.

What is this 'robe of glory' that clothed the mind of the first parents? We have already seen in the second chapter that the «mind clothed in the

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[181] The Pauline expression «putting on the new man» is almost a parallel expression of «putting on Christ», cf. Eph 4:24; Gal 3:10. The man who restored the original state of his creation is nobody else but the incarnated Christ. Hence these expressions can be equated easily, see PS III, 580^{14-17}(20,17):

ܟܢܘܢ ܐܢ ܒܠܥ ܘ ܢܠܒܫ ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܒܛܝܒܘܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܚܕܬ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܒܕܐ ܛܒܬܐ ܕܒܪܝ ܐܬܬܚܕܬ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܪܝ ܠܗ

«Let that old man (ܐܢܫܐ ܥܬܝܩܐ) who was corrupted by lusts of error be humbled in truth. Let us put on (ܢܠܒܫ) that new man (ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ) who will be renewed by good works in imitation of Our Lord Jesus Christ who created him».

[182] Jesus clothed in body to become like man who is corporeal. The same idea is expressed in Syriac Fathers in other terms as «He put on the image of man». In the *KM* in PS III, 760^{5}(26,1) it is seen that the Lord says to Adam: «I will cloth your image (ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܐܝܟ)». There is a clear statement in Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise* in *HPar* XI, 6^{6}: «He clothed the images of man, to bring man to His images (ܠܒܫ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ,ܠܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ)», cf. E. BECK, *De Paradiso*, 47.

[183] PS III, 589^{2-3}(21,2): «ܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܝܩܪ ܕܒܪܗ (his mind is clothed with glory of his Creator)».

[184] Cf. PS III, 600^{25}(21,7).

[185] PS III, 613^{6-10}(21,10):

ܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܕܥܪܛܝܢ ܗܘ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܥܪܛ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܝܩܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܒܥܝ ܠܗܘ ܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ

glory» of his Creator implies a mind immersed in the unceasing praise of God[187]. It helped the first parents to have a constant gaze on Heaven that prevented them to see the earth[188] and hence their nudity too. The same bliss is still reserved for the «Perfect» of today who can observe their Lord in heaven as in a mirror[189] in their mind (ܒܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܣܡܟ)[190]. «Standing before God», having the «zeal to praise» and to «keep gaze on heavenly realities» are the impact of the «glory of the creator (ܬܘܒܢܝ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ)» on the human mind. But what is this «ܬܘܒܢܝ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ»? While speaking about the fall of the first parents from the initial state of perfection, the *KM* mentions two major elements taken from them which resulted in all other consequences of the fall. a) The «inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)» from God which is identified with His Spirit[191]; b) Glory of the Creator that clothed their mind[192]. In the *KM*, we could not see any identification between these two factors. But biblically[193] and traditionally the glory of the Creator can be identified with His Spirit[194]. It is clear in Rom 8:26 that it is the Spirit

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[187] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 a) + A Mind Clothed with Glory». This argument can be supported by a different expression from the work, PS III, 605^{24-25}(21,8): «their mind stood before God in heaven (ܪܥܝܢ ܒܡܐ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܚ ܒܡܒܣܡܟ)». As we have seen the expression, 'standing before God', has a cultic meaning from Bible. A. Kowalski supports it from citations from OT, 1Kgs 17:1; 18:15 and 2Kgs 3:14: «The Lord before whom I stand», cf. A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 87, f.no. 155.

[188] Cf. PS III, 588^{25}-589^{3}(21,2).

[189] The image of «Mirror» is significant in Syriac Tradition and it is studied in a following section «1.3.2 a) + Mirror» of this Chapter.

[190] Cf. PS III, 413^{3-4}(16,12).

[191] PS III,792^{14-16}(28,4):

ܚܕ ܫܪܝ ܒܐܕܡ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܬܢܣܒ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ❖ܟܕ ܚܛܐ ܐܕܡ

«When Adam had sinned the inbreathing was taken from him and thus he tasted death».

[192] PS III, 613^{6-7}(21,10): «ܥܠ ܕܒܣܡܟ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬ ܕܪܝܫ (their mind stripped off that higher glory)».

[193] In the OT, in various places Spirit is presented as clothing. In *Peshitta* version of the *Book of Judges* it is written that «The Spirit of the Lord clothed Gideon», cf. Judg 6:34. Aphrahat while speaking about Daniel and Elijah presents Spirit as 'clothing', see PS I, 872^{5}(XIX,8): «ܕܠܒܫ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (Daniel, who was clothed with Spirit)»; PS I, 984^{21-22}(XXI,21): «ܕܠܒܫ ܐܝܠܝܐ ܪܘܚܐ (Spirit that clothed Elijah)».

[194] For a study on this theme, cf. E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, «The Holy Spirit as 'Clothing'», 23-35. It is usually in the context of baptism that the Syriac writers speak of «clothing with Holy Spirit». A relevant expression is there in the *Odes of Solomon*; *OdesSol*. XXV, 8: ܘܐܬܟܣܝ ܒܟ ܒܟܣܝܬ ܪܘܚܟ / ܘܐܦܫܛ ܡܢܝ ܟܠ ܟܣܘܬ ܒܣܪܐ

«And I was covered with the covering of Thy Spirit - And I removed from me the garments of skin», *The Odes of Solomon*, J.H. CHARLESWORTH, ed. - tr., 101-102. It

dwelling in us who prays on behalf of us (ܒܠܥܝ ܠܢ ܡܨܠܝ ܕܝܘܡ). So the cultic sense derived through the etymological analysis of ܡܫܚܐ took on a greater firmness in its association with the Holy Spirit. In the *KM*, «vessel (ܐܢܐ)» of the soul is presented as the dwelling place of the Spirit of God[195]. Hence from our work itself the «robe of glory» that clothed the human mind can surely be the Holy Spirit. It is very clear in the *KM* that the soul can go to the «House of the Living», only if it is accompanied by Spirit. So, for standing before God, the mind should be clothed with the glory of the Creator that means the soul should be with the Holy Spirit[196].

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presents the Spirit as clothing that one received instead of the «garment of skin», the symbol of the nakedness of sin, cf. E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, «The Holy Spirit as 'Clothing'», 25. In the *Hymns on Ephiphany* attributed to Ephrem, we could see certain supporting texts, see *HEpiph* V, 1[1]: ܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܐܝ ܡܒܢܝܢ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܝ ܒܝ ܠܥܡ ܐܚܝ ܐܫܬ «Go down my brethren, put on Holy Spirit from the water of Baptism», E. BECK, ed., *De Ephiphania*, 158. In the Ephrem's *Hymns on Faith* this garment is presented as medicine with hidden power, See *HFid* X, 7[1-2]:

ܫܠܡ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܡܪܝ ܠܒܫܐ ܕܓܠܝܬܐ / ܕܒܠܒܘܫ ܕܓܠܝܬܐ ܓܢܙܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܕܝܠܟ ❊ ܡܪܝ

«My Lord, Your garment is a source of medicine / in Your revealed clothing dwelt Your hidden power», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 50. In his *Homily on Our Lord* (*SDomN* LV) Ephrem says: «John had been whitening the stains of debt with common water, so that bodies would be fit for the robe of the Spirit (ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ) imparted by Our Lord. Therefore, since the Spirit was with the Son, he came to receive baptism from John to mix with «the visible water, the Spirit, which cannot be seen (ܡܝ ܕܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ), so that whose bodies feel the wetness of the water should be aware of «the gift of the Spirit in their minds», and that as the outside of the body becomes aware of water flowing over it, the inside of the minds should become aware of the Spirit flowing over it (ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬܪܒܐ ܒܗ)», Syriac text, E. BECK, ed., *De Domino Nostro*, 51-52; English. trans., *Homily on Our Lord*, trs. E.G. Mathews – J.P. Amar, in K. MCVEY, ed., *St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works*, 330. For being faithful to the Syriac text, English translation is slightly varied from that of K. McVey edition. Christ mixed His Spirit in the baptismal water. Hence when Christian put on the glory from water it is Spirit. The same idea is there in the *Hymns on Epiphany* attributed to Ephrem; *HEpiph*, XII, 4[4]: «ܠܒܫ ܐܢܫ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ (He clothed them with Glory in the water)», E. BECK, ed., *De Epiphania*, 188; cf. C. BUCK, *Paradise and Paradigm*, 102. 277.

[195] See PS III, 788[21](28,2): ܕܠܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܓܘ ܓܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܕܐܢܫܐ «If the vessel of the human soul is not full of the Spirit of God»; cf. *Ibid*., 813[24](29,2): «ܢܫܡܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܒܪܝܬܢ (Small breath of life which is in our mind)».

[196] PS III, 792[11-13](28,4):

ܐܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܐܙܠ ܢܦܫܐ ܥܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܚܝܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ ❊ ܕܢܗܝܪܐ

«If the Holy Spirit is in the soul, the soul goes with the Spirit to the House of the living, to the stores of light».

+ The Wedding Garments

The *KM* equates the «purity of the heart» with the traditional imagery of the «wedding garment». The «wedding garment», that was required for the participation in the Lord's feast (ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ)[197] has got two senses in the *KM, viz*., the «purity of the heart (ܛܗܪܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)»[198], «excellent actions (ܥܒܕܐ ܛܒܬܐ)»[199] or «good works (ܫܦܝܪ ܛܒܬܐ)»[200]. We have already seen that Adam put the «robe of glory» on his mind before his fall and that helped him to enjoy heavenly realities. The uniqueness in that usage continues here in the imagery of 'wedding garments'. In the *KM* the 'wedding garment' is presented as the «purity of the heart (ܛܗܪܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)», the pre-requisite of the vision of God. In the context of the parable of the wedding in Matt 22:1-14, the author presents the reason for expelling the guest without the «fine garments appropriate for that wealthy feast and for that glorified bridegroom»[201] as that he had dared to enter while «his heart was not pure (ܠܐ ܛܗܪ ܠܒܗ)»[202]. The historical and eschatological aspects of the «robe of glory» are applicable here in the usage of the imagery of «wedding garment» too. The robe of glory that one receives at his baptism should be kept properly through «excellent actions» or «good works» that helps one to keep or regain «the purity of the heart». It is quite right to consider these «excellent actions» as all the attempts that we make to regain the state of perfection.

+ The Mirror

In the *KM*, the concepts of the «pure heart» and the «vision of God» are associated with the imagery of «mirror (ܡܚܙܝܬܐ)». The imagery of the spiritual «mirror» is familiar to NT[203] and quite common in Syriac literature[204]. The author depends much on Pauline use of this imagery[205].

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[197] PS III, 568[20](20,14).

[198] PS III, 568[20-21](20,14): ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܝ ܛܗܪܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܛܒܬܐ
«The wedding garments of the Lord's feast are the purity of a perfect heart».

[199] Cf. PS III, 573[21-23](20,16).

[200] Cf. PS III, 576[21-22](20,17). Contrary to that, the evil deeds of human beings are presented as the filthy garments, cf. *Ibid*., 576[19-20](20,16).

[201] PS III, 568[14-16](20,14):
ܕܡܫܬܝܬ ܥܠ ܡܐ ܕܠܒܗ ܠܐ ܛܗܪ ,ܡܐ ܕܠܒܘܫ ܫܦܝܪ ܕܡܫܬܝ ܥܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܫܦܝܪ

[202] PS III, 568[19](20,14).

[203] Cf. 1Cor 13:12; 2Cor 3:18; Jas 1:23.

[204] We have several studies on this imagery, cf. E. BECK, «Das Bild vom Spiegel bei Ephrem», 5-24; S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 71-84; ID., «Comment les coeurs purs

The «mirror» is presented there as a temporary means of heavenly vision. In ancient times, mirrors were made of metals and needed to be kept in a state of high polish for proper functioning. In relation to this polishing process, it became an excellent image referring to efforts made to achieve progress in the spiritual life. In Syriac writers, we can see two different approaches towards the «mirror»[206].

a) Anything that can reflect the divine reality is considered as a «mirror». The divine world is reflected in the mirror of nature and of the Scriptures[207]. In the *Odes of Solomon*, the Lord Himself is presented as a mirror[208], while for Isaac of Nineveh the «vision of mysteries of Christ» serve as a mirror to comprehend His resurrection[209]. Many other realities like «Scripture»[210] in general, «Gospel»[211], «Commandments»[212], «Word or

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verront Dieu», 113-143; ID., «The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror», 3-17. For a brief schema of its usage in different writers, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Ephrem's Letter to Publius», 294-296.

[205] There are 2 passages that use this imagery in Paul's Letter to the Corinthians, *viz*., 1Cor 13:12 and in 2Cor 3:18.

[206] S.P. BROCK, «The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror», 4.

[207] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror», 10.

[208] *OdesSol*. XIII, 1: «ܗܐ ܡܪܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܠܢ (Behold, the Lord is our mirror)». *The Odes of Solomon*, J.H. CHARLESWORTH, ed. – tr., 63-64.

[209] See Isaac of Nineveh's *Discourse* X, 24^{1-2}:

ܒܟܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܗܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܪܙܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܙܘܬ ܡܣܬܪܝܗܝ ܕܝܠܟ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ

«Jesus, Your Resurrection is the greatness of our spiritual man. The vision of Your mysteries will be for us a mirror for knowing it», S. CHIALÀ, ed., *Isacco di Ninive*. *Terza Collezione*, 74.

[210] In *HFid* LXVII, 8^{1-3} we read:

ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܠ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܒܗ ܕ

reason»[213], «oil»[214], spiritual quality like «luminosity»[215], «prayer»[216], *etc*. are also compared to mirror. Here the responsibility to have the proper vision belongs not to the mirror – which is supposed to be in a stable polished state – but to the luminosity of the «interior eye of the heart, the spiritual centre of the human being»[217].

b) In the second mode of use, the «mirror» stands not externally, but dwells in the person as an inbuilt mirror of the heart / soul / mind[218]. Here the mirror has the responsibility to reflect the image of God in which humanity is created. For its proper reflection, the mirror should be kept in a high state of polish. The late seventh century East Syriac monastic author,

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[2]: «ܡܪܐܝܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܗܝܪܐ (luminous mirror of the divine Gospel)», S.P. BROCK, «Ephrem's Letter to Publius», 282.

[212] See Ephrem's *HArm*, VI, 44-45: «*Sed cum speculo mandatorum, videbo interiorum faciem meam* (In the mirror of the Commandments I will behold my interior face)», L. MARIÈS - CH. MERCIER, ed., *Hymnes en version arménienne*, 59.

[213] *HFid* I, 12[1-2]:

ܕܢܗܪ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܟܝ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܬ /ܒܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܕܡܢ ܒܗ ܢܗܪ
ܠܡܚܙܝ ܒܗ ܢܦܫܗ ܀

«For the soul becomes visible through Word, which serves as its mirror / by this Word the soul is enable to see itself», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 4.

[214] *HVirg*, VII, 14[5-6]:

[ܕܡܫܝܚܐ] ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܠܗ [ܠܡܝ ܠܠ] /ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܠ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܩܕܡ ܟܠܗܘ [ܠܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ]
ܡܬܒܨܪ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܀

«Christ has many facets and the oil acts as a mirror to them all, from whichever angle I look at the oil Christ looks out at me from within it», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 28.

[215] *HFid* XXI, 6[1]: «ܒܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܕܡܐ (let the luminosity of Abraham serve as a mirror for you)», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 77.

[216] *HEccl* XXIX, 9[1]. « ܕܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܗܝܟܠ (our prayer is a mirror)», E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*, 71. Isaac of Nineveh speaks about the «mirror of the new world» formed in the midst of prayer in *Discourse* IX, 31[5-6] :

ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ,ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܝ ܕܡܬܠܩܚ ܕܐܢܫ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܀ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܀

«We speak about the highest place of the prayer, where man is lifted up through prayer. In it that we are given a mirror of the new world», S. CHIALÀ, ed., *Isacco di Ninive. Terza Collezione*, 70.

[217] The famous imagery of «luminous eye» receives its value here in this context. The discussion is there in the following section, «1.3.2 a) + The Luminous Eye».

[218] The combination of the 'mirror' and 'heart' or 'soul' is linked to Matt 5:8. For a brief study of this association, cf. N. KHAYYAT, «Le visage du Christ», 77-87. We have the expression «mirror of their mind (ܕܡܚܫܒܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܐ)» in the third discourse of Isaac of Nineveh: *Discourse* IX, 13[2] in S. CHIALÀ, ed., *Isacco di Ninive. Terza Collezione*, 13.

Simeon of *Ṭaibūtheh* [219] wrote a detailed description of the working of the «mirror of the heart»:

> There is within the heart an intelligible mirror, glorious and ineffable, fashioned by the Creator of all natures out of the might of all the visible and intelligible natures of creation, for the high honor of His image and for the presence of His invisible essence. He made it the bond, the link and the perfection of all natures. It is called by the Fathers: 'the beauty of our person', in which dwells the Spirit of adoption which we have received from holy baptism, and on it the light of grace shines. Anyone who has purified this mirror, so abundant in beauty, from the impurity and filth of the sinful passions, and who has renewed it and returned it to the pristine condition of the nature of its creation, will see the spiritual powers who accompany the natures and the affairs of creation, whether they be far off or near, through the sublime rays that emanate from it, as if they were set in array before his eyes; and he will contemplate them without anything in the way, by means of hidden power of the Holy Spirit, who dwells and works in it[220].

This mode of usage of an «interior mirror» can be seen in many Greek authors too[221]. According to S.P. Brock, the change of emphasis from the external mirror to an internal mirror found in Syriac writers could have been «brought about through familiarity with various influential Greek authors in Syriac translation»[222]. The image of the mirror is juxtaposed with the biblical teaching that man is created in the image of God. Sin has

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[219] Simeon of *Ṭaibūtheh*, the East-Syrian mystical author lived in the time of Patriarch Hananisho I, and seems to have died about AD 680. He was a physician who tried to explain scientifically the different faculties of the soul in their relation to body. The epithet *Ṭaibūtheh* means 'of His Grace'. It was given to the author because he had emphasized in his work the importance of the grace of God, and the fact that everything that he had acquired was by «His Grace (*Ṭaibūtheh*)», cf. A. MINGANA, ed. - tr., *Early Christian Mystics*, 1, see f.no. 1; J. COWAN, *A Mapmaker's Dream*, 51.

[220] SIMON OF ṬAIBŪTHEH, «Medico – Mystical Work», English trans., 60-61; for Syriac text, cf. *Ibid.*, 314-315.

[221] Athanasius of Alexandria in his *Contra Gentes* uses this simile. In *Gent.* VIII, 34 he explains how the pursuit of pleasure, blind the soul from true representation of God, cf. ATHANASIUS, *Contra Gentes* in PG 25, 16D, 34D; English trans., *Athanasius. Contra Gentes*, tr. E.P. Meijering, 40, 114. For a brief study of mirror imagery in Athansius, cf. A. HAMILTON, «Athanasius and the simile of the mirror», 14-18. In his *Homilies on Song of Songs*, in Homily V, Gregory of Nyssa considers human nature as a mirror which can reflect the beauty of God, cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In Canticum Canticorum*, in PG 44, 868C. For the nature of the use of this imagery by Nyssa, cf. G. HORN, «Le 'Miroir,' la 'nuée'», 113-131.

[222] S.P. BROCK, «The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror», 10.

marred this image. Hence, the interior mirrors should be kept polished in a way that reflects the true likeness of the Creator with the power of Holy Spirit received at baptism[223]. In short, 'the mirror of the heart' possesses twofold reflections: a) It is capable of reflecting Divine light; b) as a consequence of the reception of this divine light, the 'eyes of the heart' become capable to seeing all creation illuminated by this light. Thus the «pure in heart» can see not only God but also the whole creation, as God sees them. The beauty of one's own self, as well as the same beauty concealed in the rest of the humanity, will become visible to the holder of a pure heart[224]. There are four main passages from the *KM*, that use the imagery of the «mirror»:

1. «They gaze at Him, the Lord in the Spirit, in this world as in a mirror»[225].
2. «In this world as Paul said, as in a mirror with the eyes of our hearts we see Our Lord »[226] (Eph 1:18).
3. «They see Our Lord as in a mirror in their heart»[227].
4. «They gaze at their Lord in heaven as in a mirror in their mind»[228].

When we examine these passages we can see both modes of the usage of the «mirror» imagery. In the first two passages, the mirror is external to the person, *i.e.* «this world» functions as a mirror. In the next two passages, the «mirror» imagery is associated with the heart and the mind. Hence, there the interiority of a person takes the place of a mirror. The author combines the Pauline expressions (1Cor 13:12; 2Cor 3:18) with the Gospel (Matt 5:8) passage for the development of this imagery. In both modes of the usage, we could see the importance given to the ascetic efforts on the part of the individual to stay in a state of purity or luminosity in which Adam was created. The «Perfect» of today who are in the state of Adam at his creation have the great responsibility of being the vehicles of God's self-revelation by keeping their interior mirrors cleansed and bright through the purity or luminosity of their hearts[229]. If the mirror is placed externally in this world,

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[223] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Prayer of the Heart», 138.

[224] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The spirituality of the Heart», 114.

[225] PS III, 36^{19-20}(2,5): ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܟܠܚ ܟܡܐ ܒܗܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܡܪܐ ܕܒܗ

[226] PS III, 440^{6-8}(18,3):

ܘܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܡܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܠܒܒܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܚܙܝܢ ❖ ܠܡܪܢ

[227] PS III, 328^{16-17}(14,2): ܒܠܒܗ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܚܙܝ ܠܡܪܢ

[228] PS III, 413^{2-4}(16,12): ܒܪܥܝܢ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܒܪܥܝܢ ܕܒܠܒܗ

[229] There are certain passages from the *Letters* of John of Dalyatha (Elder) which illustrates the usage of this imagery in an awesome way. For the Syriac text with French

again the person should have the responsibility to be pure which gives birth to the imagery of «luminous eye».

+ The Luminous Eye

As we have seen, the exteriority and the interiority of a person are personified as «outer man» and «inner man», just as the «outer man» possesses the visible organs the «inner man» has the interior organs. The most important one among them is the ‘interior eye’. This is not any biological organ, but a metaphoric expression for the ‘purity of the heart’

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translation of his letters, cf. R. BEULAY, ed., *La collection des letters de Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3); Syriac text with English trans., *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, tr., M.T. Hansbury. See certain passages from these *Letters*: *JoDal.Let* VII, 3: «ܡܒܪܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ» (Blessed is the soul that knows itself to be a mirror), R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 326[16].

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, XIV, 2:

ܒܟܠ ܙܗܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܙܥܘܪܝ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܒܓܘ ܒܓܘ ܠܓܘ ܕܗܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ

«By means of their diligence, He is revealed then to the few who gaze intently within themselves: those who make of themselves a mirror in which the Invisible is seen», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 344[11-14]; English trans., *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, tr. M. Hansbury, 68.

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, XV, 1:

ܐܝܟܢܐ ܬܚܙܐ ܒܓܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܙܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܡܕܝ ܕܠܟ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܡܕܝ ܕܠܟ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ❖

«When will you see within you the mirror of the Light of the One who sees all, that you might see in it the things which are His and examine in it all that belongs to yourself?», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 346[13-16]; English trans., *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, tr. M. Hansbury, 70.

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, XXVIII, 2:

ܕܢܚܙܐ ❖ ܒܬܪ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܪܫܠ ܡܕܡ ܢܗܝܪ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܓܘ ܕܝܠܟ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܓܘ ܕܝܠܟ

«Purify your mirror and without hesitation the unique light will be made manifest to you in a triune way», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 388[16-17]; English trans., *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, tr. M. Hansbury, 128.

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, XLV, 3:

ܕܒܓܘ ❖ ܡܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܚܙܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ❖ ܕܒܓܘ ❖ ܡܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܚܙܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ

«Blessed is the one who gazes continually in himself at the vision in the mirror of spiritual beings», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 452[19-20]; English trans., *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, tr. M. Hansbury, 216.

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, L, 19:

ܕܡܢ ❖ ܡܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܚܙܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܢ ❖ ܕܡܢ ❖ ܡܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܚܙܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܢ ❖

«The mind which seeks God in itself, his person becomes a mirror in which God becomes visible to him», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 470[23-24].

JOHN OF DALYATHA, *The Letters*, LI, 13: «ܒܢܦܫܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ (mirror of their person)», R. BEULAY, ed., *Jean de Dalyatha*, in PO 180 (39.3), 480[2].

achieved by a person in his integrity. It represents the capacity of a man to perceive the invisible realities hidden to his physical faculties. But the formation of such an eye is the hidden work of the heart. This expression is there in Paul[230]. Many Syriac writers used it to develop their theology[231]. Just as the physical eyes function by means of light, these internal eyes need the light of faith. Ephrem even identifies «faith» with the inner eye and says: «faith is the eye which can see hidden things»[232]. The 'purity' (*dakyūtā*) and 'luminosity' (*šapyūtā*) are the necessary requisites for the inner eyes to perceive the divine reality reflected in the mirror. In Ephrem, we read: «The Books are placed there like a mirror. He whose eye is luminous sees there an image of Truth»[233].

In the *KM*, the author speaks about the realities that are «invisible to the physical eyes»[234], but visible to the inner eyes. He used different expressions to denote this interior sight as «inner eyes (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܓܘܐ)»[235], «spiritual eye (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ)»[236], «eyes of heart (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܠܒܐ)»[237], «eyes of mind (ܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܥܐ)»[238], *etc*. The objects of the perception of these eyes are given as the «Lord (ܡܪܝܐ)»[239], the «soul (ܢܦܫܐ)»[240], the «heavenly beauty (ܫܦܝܪ ܡܪܥܝܐ)»[241], the «road (ܫܘܒܠܐ)» to the spiritual city[242], *etc*. The imageries of the 'mirror', as well as the 'internal eye', furnish the foundations for the symbolic theology, the celebrated character of ancient Syriac writers, which shall be discussed later in this chapter.

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[230] Cf. Eph 1:18.

[231] For example in *A. Thom.* Chap. 162: «The Consummation of Judas Thomas» there is its direct usage. «ܠܐ ܢܬܥܘܪ ܥܝܢܐ ܕܠܒܒܟܘܢ (let not the eyes of your hearts be blinded)», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܥܠ (330)[5-6]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 295; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 152. For its usage in Ephrem, cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 71-79.

[232] *HEccl* XXIV, 3[1]: «ܗܝܟܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܦܝܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܥܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ», E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*, 52.

[233] *HFid* LXVII, 8[1-3]: ܡܬܬܣܡܝܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܘ ܥܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ /ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܚܒܝܒ ܠܗ ܒܓܠܝ, E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 207.

[234] PS III, 64[2-3](3,9): ܕܡܢܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ

[235] PS III, 793[21](28,6).

[236] PS III, 81[21](3,16): ܥܝܢܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ, cf. *Ibid*., 632[18](21,20).

[237] PS III, 440[7](18,3).

[238] PS III, 520[10](19,38).

[239] PS III, 440[8](18,3).

[240] Cf. PS III, 81[19-21](3,16).

[241] PS III, 632[18-19](21,20).

[242] PS III, 520[10-12](19,38).

b) *The Self-Emptying*

The next expression that is associated with the journey of the perfection of «inner man» is «ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ / *msarrqūtā*»[243] which means «renunciation, self-emptying, self 'stripping', 'taking away', 'voluntary poverty'», *etc*.[244] It derives from the verb «ܡܣܪܩ»[245] which is used in Phil 2:7 to indicate the *kenosis* of Christ «ܡܣܪܩ ܢܦܫܗ». Like *dakyūtā* and *šapyūtā*, *msarrqūtā* too has its concern with the 'integrity' of a person. It is a key ascetical terminology and its importance is expressed boldly in one of the sermons attributed to Ephrem[246] as beginning of the way of exit from this world and as the apostolic way of life[247]. The abstract noun «*msarrqūtā*» first makes its appearance in Syriac literature as a technical term in the *KM*[248]. There are its four occurrences in the *KM*:

1. «We should leave everything, enter into the lowliness of Our Lord and into 'His self-emptying (ܡܣܪܪܘܬܗ)»[249].

2. «There is a 'hidden renunciation of the heart' (ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܓܠܝܐ) which forsakes the earth and is raised up to heaven»[250].

3. «The Evil one advised, "Cast off from you, asceticism and renunciation (ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ) and holiness (ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ), also lowliness»[251].

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[243] For a detailed study about this term, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Radical Renunciation», 122-133.

[244] Cf. Sokoloff, 796.

[245] The verb ܡܣܪܩ means 'to repudiate', 'to empty out' *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1050.

[246] From the linguistic style of this sermon, S.P. Brock says that it cannot be written by Ephrem but is of late 5th or 6th century origin, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Radical Renunciation», 122.

[247] *Serm (IV)*, 1[21-24]:

ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ; ܗܝ ܪܫ ܕܫܒܝܠܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܕܚܝܐ ܫܠܝܚܝܬܐ ❖

«*msarrqūtā* is the beginning of the way of exit from within the world; it is the head of the road of crucifixion and of the apostolic way of life», E. BECK, ed. *Sermones*, IV, 1.

[248] In Aphrahat we can see derivatives of same root «ܡܣܪܩ», cf. PS I, 100[2](III,1); 345[24](VII,20). Ephrem uses a different noun «ܡܣܪܘܩܐ» which also from the same root, «ܡܣܪܩ», cf. *HHaer* XLV, 10[4], in E. BECK, ed., *Contra Haereses*, 180. The exact expression *msarrqūtā* is there in the one of the minor letters of the Philoxenos of Mabbug entitled, *Letter of Exhortation Sent to Someone Who Left Judaism and Came to the Life of Perfection*, he speak about self-emptying of thoughts (ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ ܕܣܥܪܬܐ) as a codition to converse with the Lord, cf. PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG, *Letter of Exhortation*, XVI in B. BITTON-ASHKELONY – S. MINOV, «"A person of Silence"». 120-121.

[249] PS III, 16[8-9](1,2): ܡܣܪܪܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܠܡܟܟܘܬܗ ܕܠܒ ܘܠܫܦܠܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ

[250] PS III, 285[1-3](12,1):

ܡܣܪܪܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܒܩ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܬܪܡܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ

4. «For the Lord did not completely reject sackcloth and ashes nor whoever bows his neck like a hook in hunger and thirst, in poverty (ܥܢܝܘܬܐ), renunciation (ܫܘܚܪܢܐ) and singleness (ܚܕܝܘܬܐ) »[252].

The first occurrence of ܫܘܚܪܢܐ reflects «ܐܬܬܚ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܗ»[253] of Phil 2:7 and associates this term with giving up of possessions in the context of discipleship. The relationship between the radical renunciation and Christian discipleship has its foundation in the Gospels[254]. This is not some mere «poverty (ܥܢܝܘܬܐ)»[255] or «destitution (ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ)»[256], but the stripping off of every earthly possession with full freedom and will, *i.e.* a total poverty like that of Christ who is the Lord of all. There are many other passages in the *KM* which use the verb ܐܬܬܚ and its derivatives to explain the nature of this radical discipleship[257].

The second instance presents *msarrqūtā* on two levels: renunciation of external possessions and an internal stripping off of the self[258]. Here the «renunciation of the heart (ܫܘܚܪܢܐ ܕܠܒܐ)» is described as «hidden (ܟܣܝܐ)» and it never excludes the renunciation of physical possessions. More than that, it is presented as a disposition of the person to disregard the world for the sake of heaven, *i.e*. readiness to leaving behind everything to ascend to heaven:

> My brothers, since we believe that there is a hidden renunciation of the heart (ܫܘܚܪܢܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܕܠܒܐ), which forsakes the earth and is raised up to heaven, let us be emptied in body (ܦܓܪܢ ܐܬܬܚ) too, of our possessions and our inheritance (ܢܟܣܝܗܝ ܘܝܪܬܢ), and then we will be keeping the commandments of Him who gives life to all[259].

How is it possible? Is there any connection between *msarrqūtā* and ascension to heaven? We have to realize that the *msarrqūtā* is more than a

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[251] PS III, 609[8-10](21,9):

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܫܘܚܪܢܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܠܥܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܐܦ ܠܡܢ ܕܟܦܦ ܒܪܥܒܐ ܘܒܨܡܐ ܘܒܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ

[252] PS III, 841[20-21](29,12).

[253] Its specific usage is there in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 141[10](6,1).

[254] Cf. Matt 19:21; Luke 12:33,14:33.

[255] Payne Smith, 378.

[256] Payne Smith, 383.

[257] Cf. PS III, 1[2]; 16[9](1,2); 56[12-17](3,6); 60[21](3,7); 80[3](3,15); 141[10](6,2); 264[16-17](10,8); 285[3](12,1); 616[13](21,11); 776[9](27,4).

[258] S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 83.

[259] Cf. PS III, 285[1-5](12,1):

ܐܝܟ ܕܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܫܘܚܪܢܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܬܪܘܡܡ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܚܘܝ ܢܬܪܩܢ ܐܦ ܒܓܫܡܐ ܡܢ ܢܟܣܝܗܝ ܘܝܪܬܢ ܘܒܗܝܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܟܠ

mere way to achieve Perfection. It is a sharing in the redeeming act of Christ who emptied Himself through His death on the Cross[260] and gives «life to all (ܟܠ ܚܝܐ)». In 'Letter to the Philippians' we see Paul relates the *msarrqūtā* of Christ and His death on the Cross[261]. The same relationship can be seen in the *KM*, where the author relates 'renunciation' with taking up the Cross and imitation of Christ. See the text: «Whoever does not renounce all that he has, does not take up his cross (ܡܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܠܨܠܒܗ), does not follow Me (ܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܝܗܒ) and imitate Me (ܘܠܐ ܡܬܡܬܠ ܒܝ), is not worthy of Me (ܠܐ ܫܐܝܢ ܠܝ)»[262]. Here the author prefers 'worthy of Me' as in Matt 10:38 rather than 'a disciple of Mine' as in Luke 14:27. The verb ܫܐܝܢ means 'to be equal'[263]. To be worthy of Christ is to be equal to Him in His self-emptying, *kenosis* (ܟܢܘܣܝܣ)»[264]. How can one achieve this worthiness through *msarrqūtā*? It is through the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person. For the author *msarrqūtā* and being filled with the Paraclete are mutually related. He presents the example of Stephen who «emptied himself and received the Paraclete»[265]. Thus, through the «self – emptying / *msarrqūtā*», one can receive the Spirit of God in its fullness, *viz*., the Paraclete. We shall see later, how the Paraclete helps one to be in heaven while living on earth[266].

In the third and the fourth occurrences we see an association of *msarrqūtā* with our familiar ascetical terms which are associated closely with the state of Perfection, *viz*., *qaddīšūṯā*[267] and *īḥīdāyūtā*[268]. We know that *qaddīšūṯā* and *īḥīdāyūtā* refer to the integrity of a person achieved when he is in union with God. Hence from the last two instances of usage it is clear that the «*msarrqūtā*» which has an interior as well as an exterior aspect leads the integral person to be one with God. Then one is

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[260] J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 302.

[261] Cf. Phil 2:7-8.

[262] PS III, 53^{25}-56^{2}(3,5):

ܠ ܫܐܝܢ ܠܝ: ܘܡܬܡܬܠ ܒܝ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܠܨܠܒܗ ܘܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܝܗܒ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܟܠ ܡܢ

cf. Luke 14:27; Matt 10:38.

[263] Payne Smith, 562.

[264] BROCK S.P, «Some Paths to Perfection», 82.

[265] PS III, 77^{24-25}(3,15): «ܟܢܘܣܝܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ».

[266] See the section «1.5 The Tripartite Man: A Meeting Point of Heaven and Earth».

[267] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 a) + A State of Holiness (ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ)».

[268] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 e) The Perfection: An Aspiration for *Īḥīdāyūtā* (ܝܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ)».

courageous enough to leave behind all the earthly possessions, and can live in this world as if not of this world[269].

c) *The Broken Mind or Heart*

The next expression under our consideration is «breaking the mind (ܥܨܡ ܪܚܝܟ)»[270]. It enjoys a significant role in the journey of perfection. The *KM* uses the verb ܥܨܡ[271] in association with the mind[272] and heart[273] in a very peculiar way. In the *KM*, the contrast of 'clothing', *i.e.* 'stripping' is not associated with the 'mind' in an explicit way. Nevertheless, the idea is there. The mind engaged in earthly matters is considered a deviation that leads you away from the 'Perfection'[274]. Hence, it exhorts to «leave the earth and everything in»[275], *i.e.* «the mind should die from the earth» [276] and to «break the mind (ܪܚܝܟ ܥܨܡ)»[277]. In a different context, he applies the same expression associated with the heart too, as a pleasing sacrifice to God: «the sacrifices of God are a lowly spirit and He loves a broken heart»[278]. Since it is an exact quote of *Peshitta* version of Ps 51:7[279] it is possible to assume that the author derived this terminology from it. For the anonymous author 'breaking one's mind' (ܪܚܝܟ ܥܨܡ) means the wearing away of useless knowledge so that true knowledge can fill its place[280]. The *KM*, in fact, expresses the mode of «breaking of the mind» as: «break your

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[269] Cf. John 15:19.

[270] We have a study on this theme in the *KM*, cf. J.W. CHILDERS, «A Broken Mind», 131-155.

[271] The verb ܥܨܡ means 'to break up small', 'to wear oneself out', 'harass', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 572.

[272] Cf. PS III, $13^{9.13\text{-}15}$(1,2); 141^{8}(6,2); 776^{5}(27,4); 332^{2}(14,3).

[273] We could see it one time associated with heart as «ܥܨܡ ܠܒܐ», PS III, 900^{6}(30,16).

[274] Cf. PS III, 468^{21}(19,9).

[275] PS III, 353^{25}(15,8): «ܡܢ ܒܥܘܠܡ ܕܐ ܢܚܘܪ ܠܥܕܡ».

[276] PS III, 597^{11}(21,5): «ܡܫܬܐ ܢܚܘܪ ܒܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ». The usage of the expression «Fasting to the World» in the *KM* is seen already, see f.nos. 134-135 of this Chap., in 189-190.

[277] PS III, 13^{9}(1,2); 776^{5}(27,4).

[278] PS III, $900^{5\text{-}6}$ (30,16): «ܙܒܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܟܝܐ ,ܘ ܠܒܐ ܕܒܪ ,ܘܚܫܝܫܐ». For allusions to the same idea cf. *Ibid*., 76^{25}(3,14); $485^{11\text{-}14}$(19,21), Matt 9:15; Mark 2:20; Luke 5:35.

[279] The sacrifices of God are a lowly Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ) for God does not reject a broken heart (ܠܒܐ ܕܒܪ).

[280] Cf. J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 299.

mind with teaching (ܬܘܕܝܬܐ) and inquiries on the Word (ܡܠܬܐ)»[281]. Here ܬܘܕܝܬܐ indicates surely the 'right teachings of faith' and ܡܠܬܐ the 'Word of God'. In short, ܥܣܡ is a kind of stripping – the stripping off the worldly inclinations – to be filled with the right understanding of the Scriptures and thus to re-orient the mind to re-gain the initial focusing where it could see only heaven[282]. Again, the 'broken mind' is considered as a requirement to be exalted. The *KM* says: «Everyone is exalted according to his manner of life and according to his rank, his broken mind, and the lowliness of his soul»[283].

In short, the above-mentioned ascetical terminologies associated with the 'soul' or 'heart' or 'mind' indicate the «inner man»'s attempts to receive something that his «outer man» alone cannot hold. Parallel to the visible ascetical practices of the exteriority of the 'warrior' on this physical battlefield, there must be the involvement of his «inner man» represented by his soul / mind / heart. The role of this «inner man» never excludes the visible attempts of the «outer man» represented by the body, but perfects it by taking it as the duty of the integral person. Hence in parallel to the physical renunciation, prayer, and fasting, one must have the «hidden renunciation of the heart»[284], the «hidden prayer of the heart»[285] and the «hidden fasting of the heart»[286], *etc*. In this journey of perfection, when one reaches at an agreement between his «inner man» and «outer man» the divine assistance is there through the third element present in him, the «Holy Spirit». All these visible, as well as the hidden attempts of the person are to achieve the state of *msarrqūtā,* the perfect self-emptying and thus to have oneness in himself to reach at *īḥīdāyūtā*. Then he will be filled with the fullness of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. The rest of the duty is on Holy Spirit and He will lead the person to the culmination of the Perfection.

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[281] PS III, 776^{5-6}(27,4): ܗܢܝ ܒܝܕ ܥܣܡ ܡܠܬܐ ܠܡܦܩܕ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ

[282] How the Perfect of today desired heaven and left the earth and everything in it to regain what Adam had lost by the breaking and humbling of of their minds is detailed in the *KM*, cf. PS III, 353-356(15,8-9).

[283] PS III, 329^{24}-332^{2}(14,3):

ܡܥܩ ܬܚܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܝ ܥܣܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܘܒܚ ܗܘܐ ܠܒܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܕ ܠ

[284] PS III, 285^{2}(12,1): ܬܠܬ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܫܬܘܬܚ

[285] PS III, 285^{6}(12,1): ܬܠܬ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܫܠܝ

[286] PS III, 288^{1}(12,1): ܬܠܬ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܨܘܝ

1.3.3 The Inbreathing (ܪܘܫܢܐ) and the Perfection

We know that the third element in man «inbreathing (ܪܘܫܢܐ)», which is the «Holy Spirit» present in a person, has the main role in the process of achieving perfection. The fullness of the Spirit of God, *i.e.* the «Paraclete» is the One who fosters the spiritual growth[287]. As we have seen, the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person can vary subjectively and this variation depends on the receptivity of the person. We have to «take up the Cross»[288] and to observe the 'whole' commandments to receive Paraclete, the fullness of Spirit[289]. Those who are engaged in worldly business cannot receive this fullness[290]. The *KM* presents the basic requirements to receive the Paraclete using the ascetical concepts that we have already seen. The «self-emptying (*msarrqūtā*)» is a must to receive Paraclete[291]. One has to become a «stranger to the World (ܓܝܪܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ)» to receive it[292]. All the «stripping off» attempts of the ascetical 'warrior' represented by his «outer man», *i.e.* the body and the «inner man», *i.e.* the soul / mind / heart are for achieving this fullness of Spirit, the Paraclete. There is a passage in the *KM*, which summarizes all the requirements needed to receive the Paraclete: «he should empty himself, become celibate and leave everything and be bonded to Our Lord in heaven and become dead from the use of the world. He will ascend to these major commandments and receive the Paraclete and know all truth as Our Lord makes known to him»[293].

Through the Paraclete one is «made perfect (ܡܫܠܡ)» and is «fulfilled (ܡܬܡܠܝ)» with all good things[294], and has no business with the visible world[295]. We have seen in the Chapter II that the state beyond perfection is like interior decoration of a newly built palace[296]. The same idea is

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[287] Cf. PS III, 44^{5-10}(2,8).

[288] PS III, 60^{3}(3,7): ܥܡܠ ܒ ܠܡܪܝ

[289] Cf. PS III, 16^{20-24}(1,2).

[290] Cf. PS III, 68^{1-3}(3,10); $76^{4-8.20-24}$(3,14).

[291] PS III, 233^{16-18}(9,14): « ܐܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܢܩܕܫ ܘܢܬܓܪܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ

reflected here. Since the significance of the verb «to perfect (ܫܠܡ)» is analyzed almost in detail[297] in Chapter II, here, the next verb «to fill (ܡܠܐ)» deserves our attention. The idea of fulfilment is expressed through the term «ܐܬܡܠܝ», *i.e.* the *Eshtaphal* of the verb «ܡܠܐ». In addition to the ordinary sense of «fulfilled» it implies a kind of perfection which comes through martyrdom, baptism, chrismation or Episcopal confirmation[298]. J. Scully has a relevant observation on its usage in the *KM*.

> It is possible, therefore that the author chose this word to further refine his notion ܫܠܡ. By adding the phrase ܐܬܡܠܝ he ensures that his audience would associate the notion of perfection with sacramental actions in which the Spirit was already thought to be present. At any rate, the author is clear that the Paraclete … is both what gave life to Adam, as he was created in his original, perfect state, and what now perfects human beings by re-creating them in Adam's original state[299].

It reveals the ecclesiological dimension of the achievement of the «Perfection»[300] through the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person and, of course, His working in the Church through Mysteries, the Sacraments. Let us see how the Paraclete works in a person and leads him to the culmination of perfection.

a) *The New Life* (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ)

The major impact of the presence of the «inbreathing (ܐܢܫܦܐ)» in man is «ܢܫܡܬܐ». This «inbreathing (ܐܢܫܦܐ)» itself is called «breath of life (ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ)»[301]. In the *KM*, we read: «when God created the body and soul of Adam, it was then he breathed into him of His Holy Spirit and thus Adam became a living soul (ܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ)»[302]. What is this «life (ܚܝܐ)»? In Syriac, the

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[297] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 The Perfection (ܫܠܡܘܬܐ)».

[298] Payne Smith, 274.

[299] J. SCULLY, «Lowering in order to be Raised», 306-307.

[300] It will be the focus of our next Chapter.

[301] PS III, 540^{7-8}(20,6):

ܗܘ ܕܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܗ ܕܥܕܡ ܠܐ ܚܛܐ ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ

«a person possessing that breath of life that belonged to Adam while he had not yet sinned», cf. *Ibid.*, 625^{6}(21,17).

[302] PS III, 785^{13}-788^{1}(28,1):

ܘܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܦܓܪܗ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܘܢܦܚ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܠܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ

cf. *Ibid.*, 788^{8-9}(28,1), 789^{2-3}(28,2). The same term for 'breath of life', (ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ) is used to denote the impact of the reception of that breath in man; Adam became a «living

plural noun «ܚܝܐ» means not only the ‘life’ but also the ‘salvation’[303]. In the context of the creation episode, the term «ܚܝܐ», never intended a vegetative life, but the blessed life that Adam had enjoyed before his fall. We have seen that «when Adam had sinned the inbreathing was taken from him and thus he tasted death»[304]. Thus «breath of life (ܢܫܡܬ ܚܝܐ) becomes the taste of death (ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ)»[305]. This death was not a biological death. A. Kowalski makes it clear as: «Il «soffio» e l’«anima vivente» non significano nel LG la vita fisica: quella, infatti, non è stata tolta ad Adamo. Essi esprimono una vita beata, celeste, perduta insieme con lo stato primitivo, ovviamente ripristinata nello stato di «perfezione»[306]. Hence, the ‘life’ received by Adam is more close to the meaning ‘salvation’, a life with Lord. Adam had lost that ‘life’. The restoration of that life is represented in the *KM* through the Pauline expression[307] «New Life (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ)»[308] which is quite common among the Syriac writers[309]. In the East Syriac liturgical texts it is seen as an expression of eschatological fulfilment[310].

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soul (ܢܫܡܬ ܚܝܐ)». The only difference is that in the expression «breath of life» the term ‘life’ is in plural form, «ܚܝܐ», while when applied to Adam it became singular.

[303] Payne Smith, 139.

[304] PS III, 792[4-6](28,4):

ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܛܝ ,ܐ ܡܢ ܒܠܥܕܝܗ ܢܫܡܬ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ ܡܢܝܗ ܘ ܗܫ

[305] PS III, 625[6-7](21,17): «ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܫܡܬ ܚܝܐ». See Chap. II, section «1.1.2 b) + The Taste of Death».

[306] A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 107.

[307] Cf. Rom 6:4, see Appendix, «The Pauline Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*» section «4.5 The New Life».

[308] Cf. PS III, 60[26](3,7).

[309] This expression can be seen in the *Acts of Thomas*, as part of «Song of praise of Thomas the Apostle» , cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle*, I, ܟܓ (303)[12], ܫܐ (305)[11], ܟܙ (307)[19]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 269; 271; 276. In Ephrem too we can see this expression, cf. *CNis* L, 10[3] in E. BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, II, 69. *HEccl* XI,1[1] in E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*, 28. Same term is there in Isaac of Nineveh, 2nd Part Chap., XIII, 2[4-5] and in the title of Chap. XXXVIII. Cf. S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh*. *The Second Part*, 55, 148. This term is well developed in John the Solitary and became the part of his three fold spiritual system. See the section «3.1.3 e) A Spiritual Man: A New Man (ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ)» of this Chapter.

[310] The expression «the new life in the kingdom of Heaven (ܚܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܢܫܡܬ ܚܕܬܐ)» can be seen in the prayer of *Epiclesis* of *Addai Mari Anaphora*, cf. *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 40. The expression «new life (ܚܝܐ ܢܫܡܬ)» repeats in the thanks giving prayer of the community after receiving the Communion, cf. *Ibid.*, 52.

b) *The Knowledge of Whole Truth* (ܟܫܬܐ ܟܠܐ)

It is said in the Gospel according to John that the Lord will send His Paraclete to us and He will make all truth known to us[311]. The *KM* too affirms that through the Paraclete, the receiver can «know the whole Truth (ܟܫܬܐ ܟܠܐ ܕܫܪܪ)»[312]. As we know the reception of the fullness of the Spirit, *i.e.* the Paraclete, is reserved for those who have achieved a state of purity through complete renunciation. The same criterion is valid for attaining the knowledge of the «whole truth»[313]. Those who are engaged in earthly business can never attain the Paraclete and hence the fullness of the Truth[314]. The *KM* reserves the manifestation of the truth for those who have a broken mind[315] and humility[316]. Now we are in a position to understand the metaphorical expression «broken mind»[317].

What is this «whole Truth (ܟܫܬܐ ܟܠܐ)»? The adjective that added to the term indicates that there exists gradation in knowing the «Truth». The term «ܟܫܬܐ» has a technical usage in the Syriac theology of symbols[318] and is related to the sacramental nature of this created world. The hidden God is manifest everywhere within this creation[319]. The Scripture too is a work of God in human imagery and language and is a part of the whole world [320]. Therefore, we have two storehouses of a self-revealing God; «Nature

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[311] John 15:26; 16:13.

[312] Cf. PS III, 141[13-14](6,2).

[313] PS III, 316[27]-317[2](13,6):

ܟܠ ܕܨܒܝ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܢܬܪܩܢ ܟܠ ܒܪܡ ܘܢܬܟܠܠ ܟܠ ܫܪܪ ܟܫܬܐ ܟܠܐ ܕܫܪܪ ܘܢܫܬܠܡ.

«If they wish to leave everything and empty themselves, they shall soon understand all truth and be perfected».

[314] Cf. PS III, 49[7-9](3,2); 68[1-4](3,10).

[315] PS III, 13[9](1,2).

[316] PS III, 141[12-14](6,2):

ܟܠ ܕܫܪ ܟܫܬܐ ܟܠܐ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܫܪܪ ܘܢܬܟܠܠ ܟܠ ܫܪܪ

«Lord will see his lowliness and send him the Spirit, the Paraclete and he shall know all the truth», cf. *Ibid*., 13[12-18](1,2).

[317] See this Chap., section «1.3.2 c) The Broken Mind or Heart».

[318] For the use of symbolic theology diffused in Syriac writers, cf. E. BECK, «Symbolum-Mysterium», 19-40; L. LELOIR, *Doctrines et Méthodes*, 40-58; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 288-294; *ID*., «The Theory of Symbolism», 1-20; K. DEN BIESEN, *Simple and Bold*, 147-260.

[319] Ephrem in his *Hymns on Virginity* explicitly says about it. See *HVirg* XX, 12[1-2] :

ܟܠ ܕܬܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܪܡܙܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ / ܟܠ ܕܬܩܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܛܘܦܣ ܐܢܬ ܚܙܐ

«Wherever you look, His symbol is there. Whatever you read, you see His types», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 70.

[320] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 2.

(ܟܬܒܐ)» and the «Book or Scripture (ܟܬܒܐ)»[321]. Both of them are filled with innumerable veiled «pointers (ܢܩܥܐ)» to God's hiddenness[322]. These pointers in the Scripture and Nature could be referred to by almost interchangeable terms «type (ܛܘܦܣܐ)» or «symbol (ܪܙܝܙܐ)» which are pregnant with «hidden power (ܚܝܠܐ ܣܬܝܪܐ)», that is to say, inner meaning and reality itself[323]. The pointed divine reality is denoted by the term «Truth (ܫܪܪܐ)». As S.P. Brock observes the type or symbol is hidden or manifest in itself.

> From the subjective human perspective, a type or symbol can be seen as a revelation of some aspect of the divine hiddenness (whether or not that aspect may one day be more fully revealed). From the objective divine perspective, the reverse is the case: some aspect of divine reality lies hidden in the type or symbol[324].

God has given man an interior capacity to comprehend the «hidden power (ܚܝܠܐ ܣܬܝܪܐ)» in the visible nature. This human potentiality is metaphorically denoted by different expressions that we have already seen, *viz*., «purity of the heart», «luminous eye», «polished mirror», *etc*. In order to comprehend these symbols rightly, and to know the «truth» hidden in them, the «interior eye» should be luminous and the «inner mirror» should be polished[325]. We have seen that even though these terms are related to heart or mind «the purity or the luminosity» embraces the person in his integrity. When a person arrives at the level to have the fullness of the Holy Spirit, *i.e.* the Paraclete, the level of the comprehension of the «Truth» too, approaches its maximum level. But the knowledge of the «Truth» is not the

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[321] See *HPar* V, 2[1-3]:

ܡܫܐܠ ܒܣܦܪܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܬܬܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܟܬܒܐ / ܕܢܣܗܕ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܒܪܢܫ ܘܟܬܒܐ ܒܩܪܝܬܗ ❊

«In his book Moses described the creation of the natural world / So that both Nature and Scripture might bear witness to the Creator / Nature through man's use of it, Scripture through his reading of it», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 16; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 102.

[322] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «World and Sacrament», 687.

[323] T. KOONAMMAKKAL, «Ephrem's Idea of Revelation», 358, cf. S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 27.

[324] S.P. BROCK, *Luminous Eye*, 41.

[325] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Imagery of the Spiritual Mirror», 7. Ephrem makes it clear in *HFid* LXVII,8[1-3]: ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܣܝܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܐ ܘܗܘ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܢܝܗܪܐ ܒܗ ܚܙܐ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܢܘܢ

«The Scriptures are set up like a mirror and he whose eye is luminous sees there an image of Truth», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 207.

end. We could see further growth in the *KM*[326]. The culmination is presented as: «then Our Lord will open the gates of heaven to him, and he will enter and enjoy the riches of its mysteries»[327]. Not the comprehension alone but a kind of participation in heavenly mysteries is given as the ultimate experience. Here the Holy Spirit enjoys the pivotal role. Through Him, God has revealed and interpreted all the mysteries[328]. Man can partake in God and can see God in the Spirit[329]. We have a common expression in the *KM* as «a person who is in the Spirit (ܒܪ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ)»[330]. «A person who is in the Spirit pursues love and he is above the laws»[331]. However, not everyone is able to hear the Spirit[332]. Only those who partake of God in the Spirit (ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ)[333] can «understand the will of God (ܡܠܝ ܡܨܝ ܒܗ)»[334], «understand Scripture (ܥܢ ܟܬܒܐ)»[335] and can «distinguish commandments (ܦܩܕ ܥܒܕ)»[336]. All these expressions refer to the right comprehension of the «Truth».

1.4 *The Tripartite Man: A Meeting Point of Visible and Hidden*

In the *KM*, we see two expressions, *viz*., «visible (ܓܠܝܐ)» and hidden (ܟܣܝܐ)» on different occasions[337]. The contrast between the «Visible» and the «Hidden» is again a favorite theme of Syriac writers[338]. The whole

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[326] Cf. PS III, 141^{12-24}(6,2).

[327] PS III, 141^{24}-144^{2}(6,2):

ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܓܠܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܓܢܙܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܥܘܠ ܘܢܬܬܥܢܓ ܒܥܘܬܪ ܓܢܙܝ ܪܙܘܗܝ

[328] PS III, 4^{5-6}: ܐܠܗܐ ܓܠܐ ܠܢ ܒܪܝܫ ܡܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ

[329] Cf. PS III, 36^{19-23}(2,5); 396^{18}(16,4).

[330] PS III, 332^{20}(14,3). Mary, is presented in PS III, 441^{9-10}(18,4) as one who «rejoiced in her inner spirit (ܒܪܘܚ ܠܒܗ ܒ ܗܘܬ ܫܡܚ)». A part from her *Magnificat* is quoted in PS III, 441^{6-8}(18,4) as :

ܥܒܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܬܪܒܐ ܘܪܘܚܝ ܬܬܪܘܙ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܝ

«Mary said: my soul magnifies the Lord and spirit rejoices in God my Saviour», cf. Luke 1:46.

[331] PS III, 405^{10-11}(16,8) : ܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬܪ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܢܡܘܣ

[332] PS III, 380^{1-2}(15,18): ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ, cf. *Ibid*., 572^{15-16}(20,15).

[333] PS III, 13^{21-22}(1,2).

[334] Cf. PS III, 13^{20}(1,2); 204^{13-14}(9,1); 468^{2-3}(19,8).

[335] PS III, 13^{26}(1,2).

[336] PS III, 13^{26-27}(1,2).

[337] The expression is there connected with the Church. See the title of *mēmrā* XII: «ܣܘܟܢܐ ܕܓܠܝ ܘܟܣܝ ܕܒܥܠܬܐ (The Visible and Hidden Ministry of the Church)», PS III, 285-286(12).

[338] See Chap. IV, section «2.2.5 *ʿĒdtā*: A *Rāzā*».

created world, including man, the crown of Creation is the venue of the encounter between the «visible» and the «hidden». The *KM* presents the person, with a visible body that can relate to the visible creation and with an invisible soul which can comprehend the «Truth» hidden in this creation. As we have seen above, something is hidden in this world which is invisible to bodily eyes, but visible to «inner eyes». The capacity to perceive the visible creation is a possibility given to all. But the comprehension of the mystery concealed in it is conditional. While living in this world, the person should be in a continuous process of purification of the «internal mirror» and the «inner eyes» which realize the visibility of the Invisible. The resurrected life is the total realization of this possibility to see and experience God's revelation.

1.4.1 The «ܦܓܪܐ» and the Visibility

We recognize that the body enables a man to be on the earth and it acts as the mode of communication of the whole person with this visible world. The main merit of the body is that it is seen to all. More than the biological fitness of the eye, no other specific gift is needed to grasp the bodily language[339]. In our study too, its «visibility (ܚܙܝܬܘܬܐ)», which resulted in the concept of «visible Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܚܙܝܬܐ)» deserves our attention. The author presents the thoughts about the «body» primarily in the point of view of its visibility.

> through our heart, our lowliness and servitude shall be known to God, and through our body our lowliness and servitude shall be revealed to everyone… for if a person greets people spiritually, bowing his spiritual head, but not bowing his head and heart before them, his lowliness is evident only to God[340]

Even the divine pedagogy uses the visibility of the body[341]. Many times visible realities of this world become the venue of divine revelations. For

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[339] PS III, $253^{1\text{-}8}$(10, 3).

[340] PS III, 252^{20}-253^{1}(10,3):
ܠܐ ... ܒܠܒ ܕܢܚܢܢܐ ܘܥܒܕܘܬܢ ܢܬܝܕܥ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܒܦܓܪܢ ܕܢܚܢܢܐ ܘܥܒܕܘܬܢ ܢܬܓܠܝ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ... ܐܢ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܘܟܪܟ ܪܫܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܟܪܟ ܪܫܗ ܘܠܒܗ ܩܕܡ ܢܝܗܘ ܥܒܕܘܬܗ ܒܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܒܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ

explaining the need of the body and its «visibility» in the divine economy, the incarnation of Our Lord is given as an example.

> For the sake of the whole world, which was lost, Our Lord appeared physically (ܒܦܓܪܐ ܐܬܐ ,ܡܪܢ)... Therefore, Our Lord was born for the education of everyone so that all might learn the truth of his lowliness and love visibly (ܒܓܠܝܐ), because not everyone is capable of hearing the will of the Lord through his Holy Spirit[342].

The same idea is expressed again as:

> If everyone had been capable of hearing the Holy Spirit, Our Lord would not have appeared physically (ܒܦܓܪܐ) as a human being, nor also, would he have sent the prophets and the Apostles to be his preachers and to show people his truth and glory[343].

The expression «ܒܦܓܪܐ» is quite common in the *KM*. It literally means «in the body», but its adverbial use intends «physically». Hence, this term implies not only the body of a person but anything physical which is visible to all. The *KM* says: «God prefigured in the body (ܒܦܓܪܐ) more than one images of life (ܕܡܝܢ ܚܝܐ) to the prophets and the Apostles and in the Spirit (ܒܪܘܚ) showed them the perfect original (ܕܡܬܥܠ ܕܡܬܐ)»[344]. Hence, the visibility of the physical realities of this nature, including the human body is a channel of divine revelation and hence an essential part of the divine economy.

1.4.2 The «ܓܘܫܡ» and the Invisibility

In contrast, to the visibility of the body, the invisibility of the soul is also well treated in the *KM*. Here visibility and invisibility are projected as relative phenomena. The ‘soul’ or ‘spirit’ or ‘heart’ or ‘mind’ is presented

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[342] PS III, $204^{4\text{-}5.9\text{-}12}$(9,1):
ܒܕܝܢ ܕܒܟܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܠܟܝ ... ܒܦܓܪܐ ܐܬܐ ,ܡܪܢ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܒܕ ܕܐܬܒܥ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܫܡܥ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܗܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܟܝ ܒܓܠܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܫܡܥ ܠܟܝ ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ❖

[343] PS III, $572^{15\text{-}20}$(20,15):
ܒܦܓܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܪܢ: ܘܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܟܝ ܢܫܡܥ ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܫܕܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܗ ܣܗܕܐ ܠܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ❖ ܘܠܡܚܘܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܪܪ ܘܫܦܝܪ ❖

[344] PS III, $800^{12\text{-}14}$(28,8). The word ܕܡܬܐ means ‘prototype’, ‘exemplar’, ‘idea’, ‘original figure’, *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 617. The use of the visibility of the body as well as anything physical as a channel for revelation is supported by presenting the episode of «God – Moses dialogue» from the Book of Exodus, cf. Exod 33:11; PS III, $801^{4\text{-}19}$(28,10).

as something invisible to the physical eye, but visible to the spiritual eye. It says: «Whoever is in the Spirit, however, ministers to what is invisible to corporeal eyes, namely to the soul, which is visible in the Spirit to the spiritual eye»[345]. The soul is presented in itself as invisible to the corporeal system, but it can see and keep its contact with the 'invisible' heavenly realities. Even though people cannot see our heart, «through our heart our lowliness and servitude shall be known to God»[346]. Man as a meeting point of «visibility» and «invisibility» has the responsibility to utilize both the visible character of his body as well as the invisible character of his soul in all his attempts to encounter the «Hidden and Revealing God». In such attempts, the integral person should be involved in the visible efforts of his body as well as in the hidden work of his soul, or mind or heart. Hence, in the ascetical practices, the whole person is participating, not his body or his soul alone. In a person when such a harmony exists between his «outer man / body» and «inner man / soul» the Holy Spirit will dwell in him[347] to lead him to the participation in hidden heavenly mysteries.

1.5 *The Tripartite Man: A Meeting Point of Earth and Heaven*

It is already mentioned that the Perfect of the *KM* enjoys a double citizenship[348]. Just like the 'visible' and the 'hidden', the 'heaven' and the 'earth' too meet in him. The earthly man achieves this awesome potential only through the Spirit of God present in him. The *KM* presents the «vessel of the human soul (ܐܢܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܟܝܢܐ)[349] as a dwelling place of the Spirit of God. Just as the soul serves as the dwelling place of Holy Spirit in this world, in heaven the reversal happens, human soul resides in the Spirit. Hence, it is written that «while standing in the flesh on earth (ܟܐܢ ܒܟܝ ܒܣܪܐ), his mind daily dwells in Eden in the Spirit (ܒܪܘܚ ܥܕܢ), that is in

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[345] PS III, 81[19-21](3,16):
ܥܕܢ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܒܪܘܚ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܥܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܠܥܝܢ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ.

[346] PS III, 252[20-21](10,3): ܕܡܠܟܐ ܥܡ ܟܢܝܥܘܬܐ ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܒܠܒ ܕܝܢ

[347] See this Chapter, section «1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*».

[348] Cf. PS III, 144[5-7](6,2); see Chap. III, section «1.1.1 Body (ܦܓܪܐ)».

[349] PS III, 788[25]-789[3](28,2):
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܟܐܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܒܫܪܝܬܐ.

«For if the vessel of the human soul is not full of the Spirit of God, it does not receive that total inbreathing by which it becomes a living soul in the beginning».
Here he speaks about the quantitative difference. As It is said already, according to the *KM*, the presence of the Holy Spirit varies according to the receptivity of the persons.

the heavenly Jerusalem (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܥܠܝܐ)[350]. Then it is sure that because of the presence of the Spirit in the human person, he could access the heavenly mysteries. However, when he arrives at the measure of spiritual watchers (ܫܘܪܝܐ ܥܝܪ) he is completely taken from this world[351]. Here too Holy Spirit has the vital role: «If the Holy Spirit is in the soul, the soul goes with the Spirit to the house of the living, to the stores of light. If the Holy Spirit is not in the soul, the soul itself leaves the body»[352].

The author speaks about a possibility for man to ascend to heaven. Since the Spirit shared His heavenly position with the created human soul by dwelling in it, man through his soul or mind belong to Heaven in a way. The expressions like «inner eyes», «mirror of the heart», *etc*., refer to this possibility. Here the participation in heavenly realities is in a mode of anticipation. The fulfilment will be after one's departure from this world. He describes one more possibility for this ascension: «When we depart from the body we shall be with Our Lord until that judgment day comes, the bodies of the entire Perfect will be resurrected in glory; and they will be swallowed up in the light of their spirits, and glorified with Our Lord forever and ever»[353].

The *KM* says that in eschatological time, the bodies of the Perfect will be «swallowed in the light of their spirits (ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܗܘܢ ܡܒܠܥ ܓܫܡܐ)». This taking up of the body by the Spirit is expressed through the verb «ܒܠܥ»[354] which means 'to swallow' or 'to devour'[355]. Swallowing does not annihilate the existence but only changes the position. On the Earth, the body was external, but now in heaven, the Spirit reigns keeping the corporality within it. In heaven, there exists the continuity of one's bodily existence but in a glorified stage. And thus for the *KM*, the corporality of man is not an obstacle to becoming a perfect spiritual one. The whole person in his oneness receives the «New Life» and becomes a «New Person». The «body and the soul» of the person which acted as the instruments of visible as well as invisible knowledge continue their existential role but come to the fullness of knowledge of God. Hence as in

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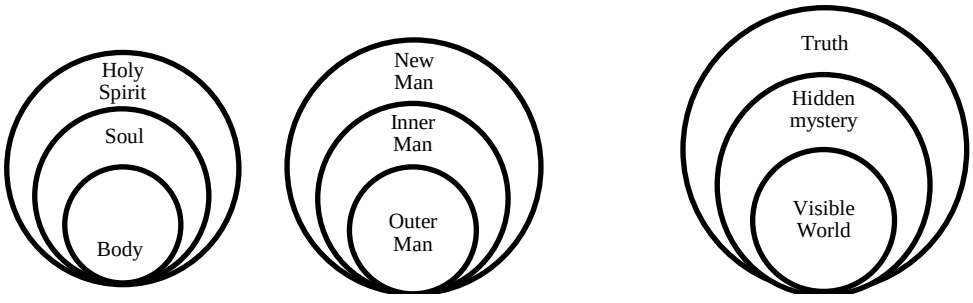
[350] PS III, 144[5-7](6,2).
[351] PS III, 144[9-12](6,2).
[352] PS III, 792[11-14](28,4).
[353] PS III, 372[20-25](15,15):
ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܗܘܢ ܡܒܠܥ ܓܫܡܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ: ܒܗ ܢܬܚܕܘ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܥܕ ܝܘܡ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܘܡ ܓܫܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܫܠܡܐ ܢܬܩܝܡ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܢܬܬܒܠܥ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܗܘܢ ܡܒܠܥ ܓܫܡܐ: ܘܢܬܬܫܒܚ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ❖

[354] Cf. 1Cor 15:54.
[355] Cf. Payne Smith, 47.

this world even in the other world, the person should keep his perfect oneness in his body and soul.

It is expressed in a different way as we have seen in the second chapter that when the Perfect will reach the measure of the spiritual watchers «Our Lord will come and take him away completely from this world, as he already took away his mind and introduced it into Paradise»[356]. In short the spiritual journey of perfection is actually a progressive process to attain this integrity in one's self which leads to the participation in heavenly mysteries. The tripartite scheme of the author is only a pedagogical approach to describe the progressive process of spiritual perfection through personal integrity.

We can say that the *KM* tries to hold the pedagogical approach that the Heavenly Mysteries are disclosed to a tripartite man in three grades. The visible world is there for the comprehension of all. It consists of several «symbols (ܣܝܡܢܐ)» pregnant with the «hidden power (ܚܝܠܐ ܣܬܝܪܐ)» of the heavenly «Truth (ܫܪܪܐ)». Through their physical faculties, everyone can see these symbols. However, the comprehension of the hidden power and the participation in the «Truth» is for those who are self-emptied to become the dwelling places of the Holy Spirit. Through the Holy Spirit dwelling in one's soul, he can comprehend the «hidden» in the «visible». The knowledge of the «Truth» will gradually lead him to participation in it. Man is tripartite as well as one. He should keep his oneness or integrity in himself to achieve this perfection. This progressive way of spiritual perfection narrated through the faculties of tripartite man is summarized in the following charts.



From the chart, it is evident that the spiritual growth is growth from within. The «inner man» cannot be alone without the «outer». The «new man» is the one who achieves this oneness in himself to possess the fullness of

[356] See Chap. II, section «1.1.3 a) A State of Fulfilment».

Holy Spirit. In the second chapter, we have seen the major grades of the believing community as the «Upright», the «Perfect», and those «who are in the state beyond Perfection». Since we could not place them in any ecclesiastical institutionalized systems or groupings, now we are in a position to see it as a pedagogical mode of presentation originating from the author's tripartite anthropological view. The Uprights are those in whom the «outer man» is more active in the struggle to attain an agreement with their «inner man». They are engaged in visible ministry and have many impediments to perceive invisible things and are not yet fit for the performance of invisible ministry. While the «Perfect» are those who have emptied themselves and became «strangers to this world» to order to receive the Paraclete. They attained the oneness of the self through the agreement between their «outer man» and «inner man» and are in a position to engage in invisible spiritual ministry. They have reached «luminous state» to perceive the hidden truth through the Paraclete dwelling in them. They will be led beyond perfection to become «new men» to participate in the «new life» at the departure from this world. Exactly the same way of progression is there in the presentation of the triple gradated Church. The detailed analysis will be in the next chapter.

From the study that we made in this chapter, we could see that the author took many theological expressions well diffused in other Syriac writers of his epoch. Now we shall concentrate more on Aphrahat who lived a few decades before the author of the *KM* to see whether he shares any ideas with the anonymous author that paved the way to the triple gradated Church.

2. Aphrahat

Aphrahat[357], the 'Persian sage', is distinguished as the earliest clear personality in the field of Syriac Literature, whose own work survives. From him, we have a unitary corpus of 23 *Expositions* or *Demonstrations* (ܬܚܘܝܬܐ / *taḥwyātā*)[358], the result of three phases of formation[359]. Since

[357] The name «ܦܪܗܕ» is the Syriac form of modern Persian name «Farhad». For brief description about the author and bibliographical details, cf. G. KESSEL – K. PINGGÉRA, *A Bibliography*, 37-38; P. BETTIOLO, «Aphrahat (Aphraates)», 437-439; P. YOUSIF, «Aphrahaṭ», 114; J.A. MCGUCKIN, *Patristic Theology*, 19; S.P. BROCK, «Aphrahaṭ», 24-25.

[358] The term ܬܚܘܝܬܐ */taḥwītā* derives from the root ,ܚܘ which means 'to show', 'to manifest', 'to expose', *etc*. Cf. Payne Smith, 129, 609. Usually *taḥwītā* is translated into English as 'Demonstration' which is not much apt. Since Aphrahat is not making any

there are several studies on Aphrahat we are not going into detailed discussions of his biographical or historical contexts. Receiving much from the previous scholarship in this field, we limit our scope to an attempt to see whether any tripartite or triple gradated approach is there in his *Expositions* that could influence the unique vision of the triple gradated Church in the *KM*.

2.1 *The Journey to Perfection: A Gradated Process*

It is true that like the author of the *KM*, Aphrahat also narrates one's journey to perfection as a gradated process. Aphrahat explains the spiritual growth of a person using the simile of the construction of a «building (ܒܢܝܐ)». He compares gold, silver, and precious stones with which the building rises up as «good works of faith (ܥܒܕܐ ܛܒܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ)»[360]. He says that if a king or a noble man is going to live in a building, then it is necessary to have «all the things required for the business of the kingdom»[361], as well as «all the service that required for the honor of the King»[362]. While speaking about the «edifice (ܒܢܝܐ)» of faith he accepts that there exist grades in its completion. A preliminary stage is there when the structure of the house is finished. But it should be furnished for the habitation of the king. We have a similar episode in the *KM* in 6th *mēmrā*. The possibility to go beyond the «Perfection» is narrated there through the example of the need for interior decoration of the palace. In both the cases, the observation of A. Lehto is noteworthy: «the criteria for the presence of Christ is not perfection, but rather being involved in the process of being

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arguments but only exposing scriptural testimonies M.-J. Pierre, the French translator of the work prefers the term *Expositions*, cf. *Les Exposés*, I, tr. M.-J. Pierre, 65-66. Hence in our study we use the term *Exposition* (*Exp.*) for *taḥwītā*. For the Syriac text of the *Expositions*, the critical edition of Parisot in PS I and II are used. The mode of citation is detailed in the «General Introduction».

[359] The author himself provides the dates of composition of these *Expositions*. The first 10 were of 336-337 AD, 11 to 22 of 343-344 AD and the 23rd in 345 AD, cf. PS I, 724^{24}-725^{2}(XIV,50); PS II, 149^{1-11}(XXIII,69). We have many discussions on the chronology of these *Expositions*, cf. G. NEDUNGATT, «The Authenticity», 65-66; *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 1-2.

[360] PS I, 29^{12}(I,12).

[361] PS I, 9^{17-18}(I,4): ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܡܠܟ

[362] PS I, 9^{18-20}(I,4): ܒܢܝܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܗ ܕܡܠܟ

built up»[363]. In the narration of this process too, we can see many striking similarities with *KM*. See the words of Aphrahat:

> First, a person believes, and when he believes he loves. When he loves, he hopes. When he hopes, he is justified. When he is justified, he is perfected. And when he is perfected, he is brought to completion. When his whole building has risen up and been brought to completion and perfected, then he becomes a house and a temple and a dwelling place for Christ[364].

A series of six verbs are there to describe different grades of spiritual maturity; «to believe (ܗܡܝܢ)»[365], «to love (ܪܚܡ)»[366], «to hope (ܣܒܪ)»[367], «to justify (ܙܕܩ)»[368], «to perfect (ܓܡܪ)»[369] and «to be compleated (ܫܠܡ)»[370]. The starting is with faith. Faith leads to love, love to hope,[371] hope to justification, justification to perfection, perfection to completion.

In the *KM*, we have an almost similar expression as «just as when a person believes he loves, and when he is loved, he becomes the Perfect, and when he is perfected he will reign»[372]. Here also, love is placed between faith and perfection, and speaks about a state of «reign», as the completion of perfection. While Aphrahat used the verb «ܐܫܬܠܡ», in *KM* we can see the *Aphel* of «ܡܠܟ», *i.e.* «ܐܡܠܟ»[373]. Both the expressions have the meaning of a culmination of glory.

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[363] *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 70, f.no. 14.

[364] PS I, 8^{21}-9^{2}(I,3):

ܠܡܒܪ ܓܡܪ ܗܝ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܘܟܕ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܪܚܡ ܘܟܕ ܪܚܡ ܣܒܪ ܘܟܕ ܣܒܪ ܙܕܩ ܘܟܕ ܙܕܩ ܫܠܡ ܘܟܕ ܫܠܡ ܐܫܬܠܡ ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܠܡ ܟܠ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܘܩܡ ܘܐܬܒܢܝ ܘܫܠܡ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܗܝܟܠܐ ܘܡܫܟܢܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ❖

English trans., *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 69, cf. Rom 8:30.

[365] It is derived from the root ܗܡܝ, 'to believe', 'to be faithful', *etc*. Cf. Payne Smith 19, 103.

[366] Cf. Payne Smith, 122.

[367] Cf. Payne Smith, 359.

[368] Cf. Payne Smith, 110.

[369] This concept is already discussed in the last chapter, see Chap. II, section 1.1.1.

[370] It derives from the root ܫܠ which means 'to complete' or 'to perfect'. The *Pael* form ܫܠܠ means 'to crown' or 'to adorn' with garlands and the *Eshtaphel* ܐܫܬܠܡ means 'to be compleated', 'to be fullfilled', *etc.*, cf. Payne Smith 214.

[371] Aphrahat quotes the Pauline expression that «these three things will endure, faith, hope and love», PS I, 33^{4-5}(I,13): «ܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܣܒܪܐ ܘܚܘܒܐ», cf. 1Cor 13:13. However, he is not hesitated to alter the order. As it is seen above, in his explanation love is placed in between faith and hope.

[372] PS III, 296^{13-15}(12,4):

ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܓܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܘܟܕ ܗܝܡܢ ܪܚܡ ܘܟܕ ܪܚܡ ܡܠܟ ❖

[373] It means 'to reign', 'to crown', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 277.

In Aphrahat, we could see gradations or the levels of spiritual growth of a person. However, his thought never developed into a systematic grouping of the people at different levels of growth. His focus is on a baptized believer and Aphrahat places all these grades within him. Now, let us see how does he consider a man and is he shares anything common with the anthropological view of the *KM*?

2.2 *Man: A Tripartite Being*

From the study of the anthropological approach of Aphrahat, it is evident that he follows a kind of tripartite approach, which is common among many Syriac writers including the author of the *KM*. We could not see any defined threefold schemes in his *Expositions*. But the concept is scattered there. For him, there are three elements in man, *viz*., «body (ܦܓܪܐ)», «soulish spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܢܦܫܝܬܐ)» and «Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)». His tripartite vision of man is almost concentrated in *Exp.* VI,14:

> For in the first birth, they are born with a soulish spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܢܦܫܝܬܐ) which is created (ܡܬܒܪܐ) within a person and is not subject to death (ܠܐ ܡܝܬ), as it says, 'man became a living soul'. And in the second birth at baptism, they receive the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) from a small portion of the divinity which is also not subject to death[374].

From our study, it is clear that the *KM* follows the same line. The «soul (ܢܦܫܐ)» of the *KM* and the «soulish spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܢܦܫܝܬܐ)» of Aphrahat are created and immortal. As in the *KM*, here too it is the principle of natural life[375]. But in the *KM*, it is clear that the first man at his creation receives the «inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)» from God [376]. In Aphrahat, we could not see the expression that the first man was with this third element. He presents the baptism as the occasion of the reception of this third element, the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ).

> From baptism (ܡܢ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ) we have received the Spirit of Christ (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), for at the moment when the priests invoke the Spirit, heaven opens

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[374] PS I, 293[5-11](VI,14):

ܐܠܐ ܒܝܠܕܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܒܪܝܢ ܥܡ ܢܦܫ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬܒܪܐ ܒܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܠܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܒܬܪܝܬܐ ܒܥܡܕ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܙܥܘܪ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܐܦ ܗܘ ❊ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܒܥܕܢ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܦܬܚ ❊ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܗ

The English translation is slightly modified from that of Lehto, cf. *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 192.

[375] F. GAVIN, «The Sleep of the Soul», 103.

[376] See this Chapter, section «1.1.3 Inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)».

and the Spirit descends and hovers over the water, and those who are baptized put [the Spirit] on. For the Spirit stays away from all those who are born of the flesh, until they come to the water of birth, and then receive the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)[377].

We too, my friend, have received of the Spirit of Christ, and Christ lives in us,... Now let us prepare our temples for the Spirit of Christ, and not weary [the Spirit] nor remove [the Spirit] from ourselves[378].

Aphrahat's notion of this third element is too complex to grasp. In addition to the two expressions we have seen in the above passage, «Spirit of Christ (ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ)», and «Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)», it is also called «heavenly Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ)»[379], «Holy Spirit from a small portion of the divinity (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܠܩܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ)»[380] or simply «Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ)» in different occasions. Again he describes it as something «from the Spirit of Christ (ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡ)»[381] and as something «from Christ (ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡ»[382]. Because of the primitive Trinitarian as well as the Pneumatological expressions that we found in the *Expositions* it is hard to define the relation between «Christ», «Spirit of Christ» and the «Holy Spirit»[383]. The Spirit is presented as a medium for Christ to dwell in the believer. In other words, Christ dwells in the Spirit and the Spirit dwells in the believer[384].

Just as in the *KM*[385], in *Exp.* VI, 4 it is possible to see the idea that if one keeps the Spirit in purity, He will be an ambassador[386] before the Throne

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[377] PS I, 292[24]-293[5](VI,14):
ܐܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܚܬ ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܘܡܬܥܡܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܥܕ ܕܢܐܬܘ ܠܡܝ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܩܒܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ.

English trans., *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 192.

[378] PS I, 292[15-17.19-21](VI,14):
ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܚܒܪܝ ܩܒܠܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܢ ... ܘܗܫܐ ܢܬܟܢܫ ܠܗܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܬܠܩ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܬܢ.

[379] PS I, 293[14](VI,14).

[380] PS I, 293[11](VI,14).

[381] PS I, 288[6-7](VI,12).

[382] PS I, 288[9](VI,12).

[383] For a brief study of the problem of this inconsistency, cf. A. KOFSKY – S. RUZER, «Logos, Holy Spirit and Messiah», 347-378.

[384] Cf. B.G. BUCUR, «Early Christian Angelomorphic Pneumatology», 190.

[385] Cf. PS III, 788[14-19](28,1); 792[10-16](28,4).

[386] M.-J. Pierre says that «L'Esprit saint est à la fois intercesseur et procureur». Cf. *Les Exposés*, tr. M.-J. Pierre, 402, f.no. 93.

and on the contrary if the person grieves Him through sin, He leaves him and will stand against him before God:

> In the case of the one who guards the Spirit of Christ in purity, when [that Spirit] goes to Christ it says to him, «The body into which I went and which put me on at the waters of baptism has guarded me in holiness». And the Holy Spirit will urge Christ to resurrect that body which kept it in purity, and will request to be rejoined to it so that that body will rise again in glory. [In the case of] the person who receives the Spirit from the waters [of baptism] but [then] grieves it, the Spirit departs from him before he dies and goes to its natural condition with Christ, and brings an accusation against that person who grieved Him[387].

This similarity in thoughts may be because of the influence they received from some older traditions[388]. The Spirit is presented as the «Pledge (ܪܗܛܡܝ)» left to us. We have already seen the explanations of this term in the first chapter[389]. Aphrahat says that, «Our Lord took from us a pledge and departed, and he left his own pledge with us»[390]. He exhorts to honor the «pledge» that we received from the Lord using the imagery of hostage and presents the pledge as «King's Son who is with us». He speaks clearly about our responsibility to keep the hostage with due respect:

> Let us reverently magnify the King's Son who is with us (ܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܢ), because a hostage (ܪܗܝܛܐ) has been taken from us in his place. Whoever holds the King's Son in honour will receive many gifts from the King. That which belongs to us, which is with him, has sat down in honour, and a diadem is tied to his head, and he has made him sit down with the King. And we who are poor, what can we do for the Son of the King who is with us? Nothing is

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[387] PS I, 293[24]-296[11](VI,14):

ܪܝܚܐ ܕܠ ܪܝܡ ܡܛ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝܗ ܡܛ ܐܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܝ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܘܒܗ ܠܒܫ ܥܠ ܡܝ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܛܗܪ ܠܝ ܒܩܕܫܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܢܫܪܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܗܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܛܗܪ ܠܗ ܒܩܕܫܐ ܘܕܢܫܬܘܦ ܠܗ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܒܝܩܪܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܬܟܢܫ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܢ ܘܐܢ ܕܪܝܚ ܐܢ ܪܝܚ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܝ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܢܦܫ ܕܢܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܓܘܫܡܗ ܘܢܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܟܢܝܬܗ ܘܢܣܒ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܟܣܝ ܠܗ ܠܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ❖ ܕܐܬܟܣܝ ܠܗ ܒܡܝ ܕܢܩܒܠ ܠܗ ܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܓܘܫܡܗ ܘܢܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܟܢܝܬܗ ❖

English trans., *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 192.

[388] In the *Shepherd of Hermas* we see same idea. In *Herm(m)*, X, 2.5 (41[5]) we see that the πνεῦμα dwells in the believer, cf. *Shepherd of Hermas*, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic Fathers*, 536-537. *Herm(m)*, X, 1.2 (40[2]) and X, 2.1 (41[1]) say that πνεῦμα intercedes on behalf of that person; if πνεῦμα is grieved, it will depart from the person, cf. in *Ibid*., 535-537. And in *Herm(m)*, X, 2.5 (41[5]) we see that if one grieves πνεῦμα then it will stand before God against the person, cf. *Ibid*., 536-537.

[389] See Chap. I, section «3.6.3 The True Sense of the Term ܥܪܒܢܐ / *'urbānā*».

[390] PS I, 277[23-25](VI,10):

ܒܥܐ ܕܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܢ ܠ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܢ ❖ ܕܐܬܟܣܝ ܠܗ ܒܝܩܪܐ ❖

required of us for him except that we adorn our temples for him (ܗܝܕ ܕܝ ܡܬܬܠܝ ܠܗ), so that when the time is fulfilled and he goes to his Father, he will give thanks to us because we have honoured him[391].

2.3 *Tripartite Man: A Reflection of Trinity*

As it is already seen, the *KM* chose Matt 18:19 to present man as a symbol of Trinity[392]. In *Exp*. IV Aphrahat commented on this Gospel passage with same purpose: «He said: "At the place where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them"»[393]. When a person gathers his soul (ܢܦܫ ܒܪ ܟܢܫ), in the name of Christ, Christ lives in Him and God lives in Christ. Thus he becomes one of three persons: himself, Christ who lives in him, and God who lives in Christ»[394].

It is already seen the significance of the verb, «ܐܣܦ» used in the *KM* in a context similar to this[395]. Here the verb is the *Pael* form ܟܢܫ which means 'to gather', 'to collect', 'to welcome', 'to sum up', *etc*. Its *Peal* form has also a relevant meaning 'to sweep' which indicates the familiar theme of the purification of soul that leads to a vision of the hidden[396]. Here the oneness of man got more emphasis than in the *KM*. We could not see any divisions like «inner» and «outer» persons. The trinity will be formed by the 'person', 'Christ who lives in him' and 'God who lives in Christ'. In the *KM*, the role to make man a reflection of the trinity is done by the Holy Spirit. The instruction to gather one's soul is actually the call for the human integration.

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[391] PS I, 280[14-25](VI,10):
ܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܗ ܕܒܬܪ ,ܬܪܝܢ ܐܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܒܫܡܝ ܐܢܐ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܡܬ ܙܒܢܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܕܝܩܪܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܚܢ ܢܬܝܩܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܬܝܩܪ ܠܢ ܕܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ

2.4 *Man: A Temple of God*

God's dwelling in an individual human being who believes in Him is a common theme shared by Aphrahat[397] and the author of the *KM*. Since it is the central notion of the «Church of the heart», a detailed study is part of our next chapter. For Aphrahat, it is Christ who lives in us, and we are the temples of Christ. But the presence of Christ is described through many expressions like the «pledge from Him», the «Spirit of Christ», and «Father» Himself.

2.5 *Resurrected Man: A Perfect Spiritual Being*

Aphrahat narrates the resurrection of man with many similarities with that of the *KM*. Here the vital role is played by the Holy Spirit who dwells in man.

> When people die, the soulish spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܢܦܫܝܐ) is buried with the body and sensation (ܪܓܫܐ) is taken away from it, and the heavenly Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) which they have received goes to its natural condition (ܚܝܘܬ) with Christ... For the Spirit of Christ, that which our spirits have received, goes to be with Christ, and the soulish spirit is buried in its natural condition (ܚܝܘܬ), and sensation is taken away from it[398].

In this passage there are two key concepts. It speaks about a kind of 'sleep of the soul' losing its sensation. Again, the crucial term «ܚܝܐ»[399] is there to describe the transfiguration happening at the time of death. In Syriac Christianity from the 4th cent., we could see less consistent teachings on the state of the dead describing it as a kind of «sleep»[400]. The above-mentioned passage from Aphrahat is a typical example of such a teaching.

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[397] Cf. M. DELCOGLIANO, «Christ's Indwelling», 181-193; S.K.S. JARKINS, *Aphrahat the Persian*, 29-72.

[398] PS I, 293[12-16.21-24](VI,14):
ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܩܒܪ ܘܪܓܫܐ ܡܬܦܫܛ ܡܢܝܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܒܗ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܠܐ ܠܬܘܒ ... ܠܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܒܗ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܠܐ ܠܬܘܒ ܘܪܓܫܐ ܡܬܦܫܛ ܡܢܝܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܩܒܪ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܘܒ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܩܒܪ ܠܬܘܒ ܠܡܬܘܒ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܩܒܪ ܠܬܘܒ ܠܡܬܘܒ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܡܬܩܒܪ ܠܬܘܒ ܠܡܬܘܒ ❖

English trans., *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 192.

[399] For the studies on this key term, cf. A.F.J. KLIJN, «The Word *k^{e}jān* in Aphraates», 58-62; A. GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, I, 215-216.

[400] G. Gavin presents various passages from different writers to present this thought as the part of the living tradition of the Syriac Community. Since this complex theme is beyond the scope of our study, we are not entering into details, cf. F. GAVIN, «The Sleep of the Soul», 103-120.

From the tripartite man, «after the death the Spirit leaves the body, leaving in it the soul. The two carry on life, with however the natural faculties wholly suspended. This state is technically the 'sleep' and from it, the voice of Christ will call the dead to judgment»[401]. Aphrahat describes it as a state without sensation (ܪܡܥܝ). At the time of resurrection, not any particular element but the whole person becomes spiritual:

> And when the time of the completion of the age comes, and the time of the resurrection draws near, the Holy Spirit which has been kept in purity receives great power from its nature, comes before Christ, stands at the entrance of the graves where those who have kept it in purity are buried, and waits for the shout. And when the watchers have opened the gates of heaven before the King, then the horn will sound and the trumpets will shout, and the Spirit that listens for the shout will hear and quickly open the tombs and raise up the bodies and that which was buried in them, and the Spirit will put on that glory which came with it. The Spirit will be within for the resurrection of the body, and the glory will be on the outside for the adornment of the body. The natural spirit will be swallowed up by the heavenly Spirit and the whole person will become spiritual since his body is in the Spirit. Death will be swallowed up by life and the body will be swallowed up by the Spirit. And through the Spirit, that person will fly to meet the King who will receive him with joy, and Christ will give thanks for the body which has guarded the Spirit in purity[402].

The true meaning of the term ܟܝܢܐ in Aphrahat is discussed by some scholars[403]. In non-theological usage[404] it may point to a «particular property»[405], or can be used to denote «things created»[406] or to refer to a

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[401] Cf. F. GAVIN, «The Sleep of the Soul», 106.

[402] PS I, 296[11]-297[7](VI,14):

ܒܗܠܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܫܘܝ ܠܟܠܗܘ ܫܒܚ̈ܐ ܘܒܛܝܒ ܙܒܢܗ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܘܩܪܝܒ ܙܒܢ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܚ̈ܙܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܬܝܒ ܒܛܗܪ̈ܐ ܩܒܠ ܚܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܝܢܗ ܘܡܩܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܩܐܡ ܒܬܪܥ ܩܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܛܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܬ̈ܝܗ ܘܡܬܚ̈ܙܐ ܠܩܠܐ ܘܟܕ ܦܬܚ̈ܝ ܥܝܪ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܝ ܙܒܢ ܩܪܢܐ ܢܬܩܥ ܘܣܦ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܢܩܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܩܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܘܒܣܪܥ ܢܦܬܚ ܩܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܩܝܡ ܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܕܡ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܩܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܢܠܒܫ ܗܘ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܒܓܘ ܠܒܘܫ ܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܒܓܘ ܗܘ ܠܩܝܡܬ ܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܪ ܠܒܘܫ ܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܛܒܥܝ ܬܒܠܥ ܘܡܬܒܠܥ ܒܚܝܐ ܘܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܗܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܛܝܣ ܠܩܒܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܩܒܠ ܠܗ ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܫܒܚ ܥܠ ܦܓ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܛܪܪ̈ܝ ܒܛܗܪ̈ܐ ❖ ܐܬ̈ܝܗ

English trans., *The Demonstrations*, tr., A. Lehto, 193.

[403] Cf. I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Die Gottheit Christi*, 98-103; A.F.J. KLIJN, «The Word *k[e]jān* in Aphraates», 58-62.

[404] Cf. A.F.J. KLIJN, «The Word *k[e]jān* in Aphraates», 60-61.

[405] Cf. PS I, 385[8](VIII,12); 364[6](VIII,2).

«status or a position»[407]. But in a theological context «ܟܝܢܐ» received a spatial sense. With regard to Christ and men, it points to a situation in which they happen to be[408], *i.e.* the way they appear. This sense opens the possibility of persons belonging to the «ܟܝܢܐ» of this earth to participate in the «ܟܝܢܐ» of Heaven. «Thus, it may refer also to the possibility for Christ to 'change nature' meaning to 'change place' from heaven to earth, and for men inversely to partake in a heavenly existence. Such an outlook may be termed the 'Christology of exchange'; in this sense, both Christ and men have double nature / situation»[409]. This transition is denoted by the verb «ܫܠܚ»[410] which includes the contextual meaning of «to change» or «to change places»[411]. The role of the Holy Spirit at the death of a person is narrated almost in a similar way as in the *KM*. Since Aphrahat considers the death of a true faithful, not as a termination but as a time of expectation to become fully spiritual, resurrection is an occasion of completion. The body belonging to the earthly reality will be swallowed (ܒܠܥ) by the Heavenly Spirit. The same is the thought of the *KM* and John the Solitary. Here the observation of R. Terzoli is relevant:

> Tout cela est assez clair si l'on tient compte des catégories syriaques (d'origine biblique) qui conçoivent la résurrection comme «effusion de l'esprit», donc comme une vie «plus intense» (Aphraate parle plusieurs fois de «vivification des morts»); l'esprit animal et l'esprit céleste sont respectivement deux façons d'exprimer la vie «naturelle»: celle fragile de la créature, et celle de la force de la vie divine. Le «sommeil» de l'esprit animal semble exprimer l'idée que la mort, bien que déjà vaincue par le Christ, ne sera définitivement détruite qu'à la fin des temps. L'attente des morts, tout comme l'homme mort et cependant présent au Christ comme esprit, pourrait être un genre littéraire pour exprimer l'idée de la rédemption totale pas encore totalement accomplie…[412].

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[406] Here it appears in plural form, cf. PS II, 112^{24}(XXIII,55); 117^{25}(XXIII,58); 120^{14}(XXIII,58).

[407] In creation, to say about married state or state of humility this term is used. For state of marriage, cf. PS I, 345^{12}(VII,20); 821^{5}(XVIII,2); 825^{9}(XVIII,4). State of humility, cf. PS I, 441^{2}(IX,14). In these situations it can be compare with Greek term φύσις or Latin *condicio*.

[408] Cf. A.F.J. KLIJN, «The Word *k^{e}jān* in Aphraates», 62.

[409] A. KOFSKY – S. RUZER, «Logos, Holy Spirit and Messiah», 363

[410] Cf. PS I, 36^{13}(I,15); 89^{1}(II,19); 364^{7}(VIII,2).

[411] Cf. A.F.J. KLIJN, «The Word *k^{e}jān* in Aphraates», 63.

[412] R. TERZOLI, «Âme et esprit chez Aphraate», 117.

In the analysis that we made above, we pointed out certain main similarities found in the *Expositions* and the *KM* as relevant to our study. Aphrahat and the author of the *KM* share many similar thoughts while speaking about the baptized persons on their move towards final glory. Like the anonymous author Aphrahat also presents a baptized person as a «tripartite being». The role of the Holy Spirit in guiding a believer to his resurrected glorified state is narrated almost in a similar way to that of the *KM*. However we could not see any direct influence of Aphrahat on the author of the *KM* behind his specific approach of the triple gradated Church. At the same time it is not possible to deny that his concept of baptized one as a «temple of God» surely paves its way to the idea of «Church of the heart» in the *KM*. We shall discuss it in the next chapter. Hence we are not in a position to conclude the comparison with Aphrahat right now.

3. John the Solitary

The next author under our particular observation is John the Solitary (*Yōḥanān ʻĪḥīdāyā*),[413] who is supposed to be from the beginning of 5th cent. The problem of his identity and date is beyond the scope of this study[414]. We have a considerable number of writings on spirituality attributed to him. From our study, we can see that this corpus carry a style and thought pattern that flows from the ancient Syriac tradition. We could see many Greek words in his works. It is true that the author received a bilingual education. His discourses make use of ‘dialogue form’ which according to S.P. Brock is a Greek genre[415]. Even then we have no reason

[413] For descriptions on John the Solitary, cf., R. DUVAL, *La littérature syriaque*, 312; A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 96-97; A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 88-90; M. NIN, «John the Solitary», 1058; R.A. KITCHEN, «Yoḥnnan Iḥidaya», 442; For bibliographical details of texts, translations, and secondary works, G. KESSEL – K. PINGGÉRA, *A Bibliography*, 142-156.

[414] On this cf. R. LAVENANT, «Le problème de Jean d’Apamèe», 367-390; A. DE HALLEUX, «Le milieu historique», 229-305; ID., «La christologie», 5-36; I. HAUSHERR, «Un grand auteur», 184-186.

[415] Cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 78. Even though he uses several Greek terms, he seems to be more close to Syriac thought world. G.G. Blum makes it clear as: «he is rooted deeply in the old Syrian spirituality and is not at all influenced by the Hellenistic intellectual approach to mysticism», G.G. BLUM, «The Mystogogy», 114. From his works it is clear that he had some training in medicine, cf. *Die Seele*, 55^{15-20}; 76^{19-25}.

to deny Syriac as being their original language[416]. The works seems to be from one person because they carry an awesome coherence of thoughts and theological perspectives throughout the corpus[417]. He received acceptability in both camps of Syriac Christianity and his thoughts influenced future generations for a long time. A comparative reading of his work with other Syriac writings gives us an impression that he became a source for many later Syriac writers like John Dalyata, Isaac of Nineveh, Joseph Hazzaya[418] *et al.*, and he bridges them with his predecessors Aphrahat, the author of the *KM*, and Ephrem[419]. Let us glance at this monastic corpus giving primary attention to his *Dialogue on Soul* (*Die Seele*) to check whether the author of the *KM* influenced John the Solitary to develop such a clear defined tripartite scheme.

3.1 *From Tripartite Man to a Tripartite Spiritual System*

John the Solitary is considered as one of the pioneer representatives of a well-developed tripartite spiritual system[420], which is used to describe the arduous road towards perfection. The tripartite division of the spiritual life is neither new nor unique to early Syriac authors. Here he follows the theological line of Ephrem and *KM*, but in a more developed way[421]. However, we should not expect a neat systematic theology from him. He stands for a tripartite man with 'body', 'soul' and 'spirit'. According to John the Solitary visible creation has a concealed mystery (ܪܙܐ ܚܒܝܬܐ) hidden in it which points to the wisdom of God (ܚܟܡܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ)[422]. Since the exterior senses are not able to perceive the innermost mysteries of the

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[416] Cf. W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, 47-48; A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, III, 100-101.

[417] Cf. S.P. BROCK, *A Brief Outline*, 31-32; *John the Solitary on the Soul*, tr. M.T. Hansbury, ix; R.A. KITCHEN, «In Search of Lost Apophthegmata», 2-5.

[418] H. Hunt notices that Pauline expressions as the basis of tripartite scheme is shared by both John the Solitary and Isacc of Nineveh. Cf. H. HUNT, «"Praying the Body"», 155. His threefold scheme was adopted by many later Syriac writers including Isaac of Nineveh, Joseph Hazaya, *etc*. For John's influence on these two later writers cf. S. MAROKI, *Les trois étapes*, 177-310.

[419] Cf. M. NIN, «La sintesi monastica», 117.

[420] For a summary of John's three fold scheme, cf. B. BRADLEY, «Jean le Solitaire», 768-771.

[421] The rudimentary elements of tripartite scheme seen in the *KM* is already analysed in the above sections. Ephrem clearly expresses three fold schema in multiple occasions. The brief discussion is there in Chap. IV, section 3.6.1.

[422] Cf. *Die Seele*, 2[6-7].

natures, God conceals within the inner members a nature with senses more subtle than bodies, which can see the «hidden wisdom of the things created by the Lord of all (ܚܠ ܡܪܝܐ ,ܡܬܒܪܝܐ ܟܟܝܡܬܐ ܟܟܡܝܢ)»[423]. The attempt to keep the inner sense, the «soul», in an apt state to have visibility of hidden mysteries is narrated here using a tripartite system.

In the development of his tripartite scheme, Pauline influence can be observed. In Paul, we can see a reference to tripartite man in 1Thess 5:23. However, as the basis of his tripartite scheme, John the Solitary follows Pauline expressions in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, *viz*., σαρκικός (1Cor 3:3), ψυχικός (1Cor 2:14), and πνεματικός (1Cor 2:15). Their *Peshitta* equivalents are «ܦܓܪܢܝ», «ܢܦܫܢܝ» and «ܪܘܚܢܝ». S.P. Brock opines that these «Pauline terms are notoriously difficult to translate satisfactorily»[424]. John the Solitary used the abstract nouns that derived from these terms «ܟܦܓܪܢܝܘܬܐ», «ܟܦܢܦܫܢܝܘܬܐ» and «ܟܦܪܘܚܢܝܘܬܐ» for developing his tripartite scheme. They are translated by S.P. Brock as: 'on the level of the body'; 'on the level of soul' and 'on the level of Spirit'[425] respectively. John the Solitary himself claims that this tripartite system is Scriptural[426]. He calls them three orders (ܟܬܟܣܐ)[427], or three ways of life (ܟܡܗܓܢܘܬܐ)[428]. Like the author of the *KM*, John the Solitary also uses the Pauline expressions 'outer man', 'inner man' and 'new man'. He incorporated these expressions into his three-fold system. When compared to the usage in *KM*, here we could observe much development. We will see it soon.

P. Harb opined that in his writings John the Solitary kept his originality without much dependence on others who hold tripartite schemes[429]. Since his teaching on this spiritual methodology is mainly concentrated in his

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[423] *Die Seele*, 2[25].

[424] S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 85.

[425] Cf. *Die Seele*, 11[25]; S.P. BROCK, «Some Paths to Perfection», 85.

[426] Cf. *Die Seele*, 13. He quotes John 8:34 and 1Cor 3:4 to support his statement.

[427] Greek equivalent τάξις. The word ܟܬܟܣܐ means 'order', 'degree', 'rule', 'ordinance', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 173. This word has frequent use in ecclesiastical circles. For referring monastic rules and liturgical orders, we use this term. The liturgical text used for the celebration of the Sacraments in Syrian Churches is also called ܟܬܟܣܐ.

[428] The word ܟܡܗܓܢܘܬܐ derives from ܗܓܢ which means «to guide». The expression ܟܡܗܓܢܘܬܐ is also uses like ܟܬܟܣܐ to refer monastic rule. But in strict sense it means 'the manner of life', 'custom', 'way', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 82.84.85. John the Solitary uses the word ܟܡܗܓܢܘܬܐ as «order or way or manner of life», associated with all the three levels.

[429] P. HARB, «Doctrine», 230.

treatise *On the Soul* which consists of 4 discourses[430] our focus will be more on this work compared to his other works. Let us go through his three-fold system to verify whether he has any similarity with the thoughts in the *KM*.

3.1.1 The Order of Corporeal Man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܫܡܝܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ)

The lowest order of John the Solitary's tripartite system is 'the order of the corporeal man' (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܫܡܝܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ). He identifies this state of man with the Pauline expression corporeal (ܚܘܣܢܐ)[431]. It is interesting to see how he narrates this state. If one turns towards the desires of the body (ܦܓܪܢܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܐ)[432] and acts according to them, he is at the order of bodily nature (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ)[433]. At this level, a person is drawn to the delights of the nature of the body (ܦܓܪܢܐ ܕܥܠ)[434] and does not have a good visible conduct (ܐܘܣܟܢܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܒܓܠܝܐ). His mind is absorbed by evil thoughts and he moves on the way of life of demons (ܒܓܠܝܐ ܕܫܐܕܐ)[435]. He is not a servant of God (ܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ)[436], but a servant of sin (ܥܒܕ ܚܛܝܬܐ)[437] and alien to all association with God. He has no fear of judgment (ܕܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ)[438] or care about the wisdom of instruction (ܚܟܡܬ ܐܘܠܦܢܐ)[439]. He considers God as an image of man (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ)[440]. In short, John the Solitary describes this order giving emphasis to one's

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[430] Discourse I: Other observations on the soul and on the explanation of human passions: of the body, of the soul and of the spirit; Syriac text: «ܬܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܘܕܢܦܫܐ ܘܕܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܢܘ ܘܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܢܘ» in *Die Seele*, 1-27; Discourse II: Concerning the passions of the Soul, how they differ and on the cause of their stirrings: what sort are those which are of its nature and which are outside of its nature; Syriac text: «ܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܢܘ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܛܒܥܗ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܛܒܥܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܢܘ ܘܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܢܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܛܒܥܗ», in *Die Seele*, 28-54; Discourse III and IV are given without any proper titles as Discourse three (ܡܐܡܪܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ), cf. *Die Seele*, 55-79 and Discourse Four (ܡܐܡܪܐ ܪܒܥܝܐ), cf. *Die Seele*, 80-93.

[431] Cf. 1Cor 3:3; *Die Seele*, 13[9].

[432] *Die Seele*, 66[7].

[433] *Die Seele*, 66[8].

[434] *Die Seele*, 14[5].

[435] *Die Seele*, 13[14].

[436] *Die Seele*, 13[6].

[437] *Die Seele*, 13[11].

[438] *Die Seele*, 14[7].

[439] *Die Seele*, 14[7].

[440] *Die Seele*, 14[10].

estrangement from God. However, he never disregards the innate potency of the persons belonging to this order to ascend to the higher order of the soul. A person of this order can strive against evil thoughts and fight against his natural tendencies to remain without committing evil[441]. Then he is more close to the order of the soul.

3.1.2 The Order of Soulish Man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܪܘܚܢܝ ܐܘ ܢܦܫܝ)

The second and the intermediate order is the order of the soulish man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܪܘܚܢܝ ܐܘ ܢܦܫܝ). For John the Solitary, the presence of soul in man is the reason for his uniqueness among other creatures[442]. «The soul is placed between the bodily nature and spiritual one so that in this life it is not like a body nor like the perfect spiritual existence of the angels»[443]. The «hidden substance of the soul»[444] enables man to see the hidden works of God in creation. By the subtle stirrings of the «nature of the soul (ܟܝܢ ܡܕܡܐ)»[445], human beings inquire into the amazing works of God (ܒܥܝܢ ܡܫܟܚ ,ܡܕܡ ,ܚܟܡ)[446]. If a person turns from the nature of the body to soul and performs good deeds (ܡܥܒܕ ܛܒܬ)[447] he is at the level of soulish man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܦܫܝ)[448]. Let us see the characteristics of this category.

a) *A Soulish Man: One Who is Dedicated to Studies*

John the Solitary presents the «soulish man» as one who dedicated his life for studies. The nature of the soul is more subtle than anything corporeal and it moves in a life higher than that of the body. A turning happens in a soulish man from the bodily desires to an awareness of the virtues of the soul. Since the «nature of the soul is spiritual»[449], the order of

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[441] *Die Seele*, 13[18-21].

[442] *Die Seele*, 3[19-20]:

ܡܕ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܟܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ ܒܗ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܗ

« Everything that separate a man from all other natures is because he has been honoured through the soul which is in him».

[443] *Die Seele*, 11[24-26]:

ܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܫܡܥ ܡܝܬ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܚܝܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ ܒܗ ܒܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ❖

[444] *Die Seele*, 2[4-5]: ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܫܟ ܒܣܬܪܐ

[445] *Die Seele*, 4[16].

[446] *Die Seele*, 4[17].

[447] *Die Seele*, 66[10].

[448] *Die Seele*, 66[16].

[449] *Die Seele*, 66[12]: ܕܢܦܫ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܟܝ

its nature is not the activity of deeds but the «spiritual awareness»[450]. The way of the soul's nature in this world is to acquire the mental discipline of the sciences[451]. Hence, the soulish one disregards physical labour, and he trains his intelligence for study[452]. The «Perfect» of the *KM* and its exhortation to «break the mind»[453] find similarity with this way of life. For keeping the soul preserved from the lusts of the body, for being concerned about this investigation, Solitary exhorts human beings to have constant study[454]. They should keep themselves in the discipline of His (God's) teaching (ܡܗܘܠܦܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ)[455], *i.e.* they should meditate on the wisdom of nature (ܚܟܡܬ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ)[456] and the wisdom of scriptures (ܚܟܡܬ ܕܟܬܒܐ)[457]. He calls the wisdom of God (ܚܟܡܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ), the mother of mysteries (ܐܡܗ ܕܪܙܐ)[458]. A Soulish man (ܓܒܪܐ ܢܦܫܢܝ ܕ) is instructed in the spirit in these mysteries to receive its fulfilment.

b) *A Soulish Man: One Who Enjoys Revelations of this World*

The person at soulish level is presented as one who enjoys divine revelations concerning this world. God usually makes revelation (ܓܠܝ) to the person at the level of the soul (ܢܦܫܐ ܕܢܒܝ) about the future things which will happen in this world. Through these things, soulish man will be exalted among men. Through his prophecies, people are able to receive faith about the invisibility of God (ܚܟܡܐ ܕܡܣܬܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ). Using this gift he can heal the diseases of the body through «signs according to the faith of the spectators (ܐܬܘܬ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ) and can

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[450] *Die Seele*, 66[14]: ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ

[451] Cf. *Die Seele*, 63[19-21].

[452] Cf. *Die Seele*, 59[4-6]

[453] See this Chap., section «1.3.2 c) The Broken Mind or Heart».

[454] *Die Seele*, 50[21-23]:

ܐܬܘܬ ܕܚܒܝܒ ܟܬܐ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܕܡܬܕܒܪ ܕܚܒܝܒ ܬܫܬ ܚܙ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܒܚܫ ܕܡܬܕܒܪ ܟܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܕܢܬ ܒܓܘ ܠܚ ܡܢ

«See how the love of study is useful to the soul, for the continual habit of study does not allow the mind to wander outside itself».

[455] *Die Seele*, 4[22].

[456] *Die Seele*, 4[20].

[457] *Die Seele*, 4[20].

[458] Cf. JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 12*[10].

predict the future[459]. Nevertheless, the Solitary affirms that when compared to spiritual revelations (ܓܠܝܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ) these revelations are worthless[460].

c) *A Soulish Man: An Outer Man*

Just like the author of the *KM*, John the Solitary also adapted the Pauline expression the «outer man»[461] to describe the soulish man. Here John follows strictly the Pauline mind[462] and describes the soulish man (ܐܢܫܐ ܒܪܢܫܝܐ)[463] as an «outer man» who is not capable of receiving spiritual things[464]. It seems that he considers the «external person» not as an aspect of man but as a category or an order or mode of life of people who are oriented much to their bodily desires. In the *KM*, this expression holds a slightly different connotation. It speaks of a person in whom reside both inner and outer persons. There the «outer» person indicates the corporeal visible aspect of a person, and the «interior» one the invisible interior aspect represented by soul or mind or heart. Its emphasis is more on the integrity of the person[465]. A slight tendency is there in the *KM* to speak about the «outer man» as one who has more inclination to the evils of this visible world when his interior organs are injured by sin. This view received more stress in John the Solitary. He presents the «external person» as one who is at the very beginning of spiritual pursuit; as almost equivalent to corporeal (ܓܫܡܢܝܐ). It does not mean that John the Solitary disregards the group of «outer man» and keeps them away from the pursuit of perfection. He places the good conduct of life (ܐܘܪܚܐ ܛܒܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ) at the level of the soul[466]. He appreciates the «outer man» for not inclined to evils like gluttony, drunkenness, desires of flesh *etc*., and for engaging in singing the praises of God[467]. However for him the soulish men still remain in the state of the way of life of the visible man (ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܫܒܝܠܐ)[468]. They are serving the Lord of all at the level of a slave (ܥܒܕܐ

[459] Cf. *Die Seele*, 10^{11-15}.
[460] Cf. *Die Seele*, 9^{19}-10^{1}.
[461] *Die Seele*, 8.
[462] Cf. 2Cor 4:16.
[463] *Die Seele*, 8^{19}.
[464] 1Cor 2:14.
[465] See the section «1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*» of this Chapter.
[466] *Die Seele*, 63^{20}.
[467] *Die Seele*, 8^{14}.
[468] *Die Seele*, 8^{16}.

ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܛܒܬ ܫܘܪܝܐ)[469]. They fast, give alms, and keep vigil. They reflect only about their way of life and think to receive glory prepared because of the merits of their deeds and not from the treasure of God's mercy[470]. Many good works that are glorious and excellent belong to this level. In this context, a soulish person puts on many similarities with the Upright of the *KM*[471].

d) *The Elevation from the Soulish Man to Spiritual Man*

The change from the soulish order to the spiritual order is presented as a gradual process which demands many ascetic efforts. Here John uses three main ascetical expressions that we have already seen in the *KM*.

1. Self-Emptying (*msarrqūtā*)
2. Purity (*dakyūtā*)
3. Luminosity (*šapyūtā*)

The term quite diffused in the *KM*, the self-emptying (*msarrqūtā*) is used by John too, to describe the transition from the «external man» to the «inner man». He presents *msarrqūtā* with the same significance that we have seen in the *KM*. It includes both external as well as internal stripping off as an essential requirement for radical discipleship. John says that the beginning of the way of life of the «inner man» starts with «*msarrqūtā* of the love of money»[472]. Then one has to «empty oneself of the passion of the love of praise»[473]. Through self-emptying the person achieves the possibility of existing in the excellence of mind (ܫܘܪܝܐ ܫܘܦܪܐ)[474].

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[469] *Die Seele*, 8[16-17].

[470] Cf. *Die Seele*, 9[1-2].

[471] *Die Seele*, 64[10-15].

[472] *Die Seele*, 6[14]: «ܫܘܪܝܐ ܒܬܘܒ ܫܘܦܪܐ». In his *First Letter to Eutropius and Eusebius* he repeats the same demand. See JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Eutropius and Eusebius*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 64*[18]-65*[1]: « ܕܟ ܕܡ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܫܘܪ ܫܒܩ ܕܒ ܫܘܒܥܐ ,ܡ ܫܘܦܐ :ܫܒܩ (Self-emptying from the property is the beginning of the way of life of the inner man)».

[473] *Die Seele*, 6[14]: «ܠܐ ܫܬܥܒܕ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܫܒܩ ܠ ܦܘܛܒ». Same exhortation, «not be enslaved to money or to the praise resulting from pleasing people» is there in his *Letter to Hesychius*; Syriac text., «ܦܘܛܒܬܘ ܒܠܐ ܫܘܟ», in S.P. BROCK, *Mālpanūtā d-abāhātā*, 35; English trans., «Letter to Hesychius», in ID., *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 88.

[474] Cf. *Die Seele*, 6[18]. The word ܫܘܦܪܐ is from the root ܦܪ and it means 'highest' or 'excellence', cf. Payne Smith, 270.

The next two expressions purity (*dakyūtā*) and luminosity (*šapyūtā*) are already seen in the *KM*. There they are almost like synonyms. Let us see how John the Solitary uses them. He gives a description as well as a definition of purity of soul (ܕܟܝܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ)[475]. For him the «purity of soul» is «the sum of all the manner of life which God commanded human beings to follow in this life»[476]. Purity leads one to the state of luminosity. Those who arrive at this state enjoy «unfaltering true love (ܚܘܒܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܙܥܙܥ)»[477] and the «joy which emanates in the spirit (ܚܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܦܫܛ ܒܪܘܚܐ)»[478]. They hold the means of perceiving the knowledge of the mysteries of the other World[479]. We could not see a clear distinction between these two expressions. Here «purity» and «luminosity» signify the same reality with a quantitative difference. The «purity of mind» in its culmination results in «luminosity». From the «luminosity of soul (ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ)»[480] one begins to advance on «the way of life of the New Person (ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ)»[481]. Hence in short, here these keywords are presented as different grades of spiritual level[482]. M. Nin observes purity (*dakyūtā*) as the beginning and the limpidity (*šapyūtā*) as crowning:

> Ambedue significano purezza, ma in gradi diversi. La purezza è l'inizio della condotta dell'uomo nuovo, mentre la limpidezza ne è la corona. La prima sarebbe una condizione negativa, mentre la seconda è l'aspetto positivo, che rende bella l'anima dopo che è salita al gradino più alto di purificazione possibile in questa vita[483].

However in John's writings luminosity is not the apex. He describes its role using the simile of a newborn babe. For a newborn babe (ܝܠܘܕ) the «afterbirth» is an intermediary between life in the womb (ܫܝܠܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ) and life of this world (ܫܝܠܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ)[484]. Here luminosity is in the image of the placenta (ܟܘܠܐ ܕܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ)[485]. He presents luminosity as an intermediary

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[475] *Die Seele*, 6[21.25].
[476] *Die Seele*, 6[21-22]: ܫܝܠܝ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
[477] *Die Seele*, 55[8].
[478] *Die Seele*, 55[9].
[479] *Die Seele*, 55[10-11]: ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܘ ܒܗ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ
[480] *Die Seele*, 6[23.26]; 55[7.14]; 56[12.15.24]; 77[3].
[481] *Die Seele*, 6[27]; 8[5-6].
[482] Cf. I. HAUSHERR, «Un grand auteur», 196.
[483] M. NIN, «La sintesi monastica», 105.
[484] *Die Seele*, 60[5-7].
[485] *Die Seele*, 60[1].

(ܡܫܬܝ) intended for our hidden person (ܟܝܢܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ) between the well pleasing conduct in this life (ܗܠܝܡ ܡܫܟ ܡܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ) from which we go out and the true life (ܡܝܡܥ ܡܫ) of the mind which we enter with the understanding of the spiritual world[486]. He always presents the luminosity of the soul as a must to attain the «Perfection (ܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ)»[487]. In short luminosity is not the end, but it leads one to other world[488].

3.1.3 The Order of Spiritual Man (ܡܫܘܝ ܡܥܒܕ ܕܐ ܡܟܠ)

The third level is presented as the «order of spiritual man (ܕܐ ܡܟܠ ܡܫܘܝ ܡܥܒܕ)». Who is this spiritual man? What are his characteristics? Is it possible to become a spiritual man while living on this earth? The «order of spiritual man» is quite hard to define precisely. John the Solitary narrates a spiritual man as one who is concerned about the «concealed wisdom (ܡܟܝܟܡܐ ܡܟܬܡܐ)»[489] in the creatures and who contemplates the creative works of the Lord of all (ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ,ܡܡܒܪܟ) with the senses of the soul. If one is elevated from the level of the good deeds (ܡܥܒܕ ܡܛܒ) in his awareness which is the characteristic of the order of the Soul, he is at the level of the spirit (ܡܟܠ ܡܫܘܝ)[490]. It seems at the beginning of the way of life of the «spiritual man» he is more close to a «soulish man» and at the end, it is better to call him a «New Man». The apex of the spiritual level is presented as a state that can be achieved only after the resurrection. See the following passage which summarizes almost all the characteristics of a «spiritual man».

> This mode of life is never determined by visible deeds. It is an association with God and a sharing in the knowledge of His mysteries. But it realizes only after the resurrection. The spiritual mode of being (ܡܫܘܝ ܡܕܡ) does not consist in good deeds or concern for good things, but it is a mind which

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[486] *Die Seele*, 60[8-10].

[487] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Eutropios and Eusebios*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 60*[16].

[488] *Die Seele*, 7[26-27]:

ܠ ܡܡܝܛܡܕ ,ܡ ܡܟܡܡܒܐ ܡܡܫܘ .ܡܥܒܕ ܡܟܡܥܒ ܡܟ ܡܠܡܛܕ ܡܟܡܛܒܠ ܒܡ ܕ ܛܒܥ ܡܟܠ ܡܫܘ

«If a person were to attain to a state of mind more excellent than luminosity of soul, this is one of the gifts given to us in the other world».

[489] *Die Seele*, 5[1].

[490] *Die Seele*, 66[16].

associates with God in the knowledge of His mysteries. The life we receive from God after resurrection is more exalted than good deeds[491].

The major characters of a «spiritual man» are going to be seen in the following sections.

a) *A Spiritual Man: An Inner Man*

Parallel to the visible way of life of the soulish man, the spiritual order is presented as the «hidden way of life ܚܝܐ ܟܣܝܐ». Here the term ܟܣܝ indicates that this mode of life is not visible in corporeal level and hence it is hidden from others including Satan. No one sees it except God[492]. Through the hidden way of life, he can perceive the hidden mysteries. Just as in the *KM*, John the Solitary too explains in his first *Dialogue with Thomasios*, the potential of man to surpass the limits of this world through his mind:

Being within the body, you can be outside the body. Although the body still moves in the world man can be in his mind outside the world. As Our Lord said to his disciples: you are not of the world (cf. John 15:19) in order to teach them that their corporality but not their sense is of this world[493].

Hence, in this order, an elevation is there from visibility to hidden.

For all things in this life come to an end, but God will establish humans in another order after their resurrection. In the life to come they will not minister Him by burning incense (ܩܛܘܪܬ ܒܣܡܐ), nor with sacrificial offerings (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ) or visible deeds (ܥܒܕܐ ܕܓܠܝܐ). But one who is at the level of the soul (ܢܦܫܢܝܐ) does not perceive beyond these visible things[494].

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[491] *Die Seele*, 64[7-10]:
ܟܠܡܕ ܡܢ ܕܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ. ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܡ ܕܓܫܡܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܬܚܪܟ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܢ ܕܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܓܫܡܐ ❖ ܕܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܬܚܪܟ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܢ ܕܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܓܫܡܐ ❖

[492] Cf. *Die Seele*, 12[18]. The same thought is there in the *KM*. Soul is seen by God alone. See section «1.4.2 The «ܢܦܫ» and the Invisibility» of this Chapter.

[493] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *Dialogue with Thomasios*, I[206-211]:
ܟܠܡܕ ܕܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ. ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܡ ܕܓܫܡܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܬܚܪܟ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܢ ܕܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ❖ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܓܫܡܐ ❖
W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, 8-9.

[494] *Die Seele*, 9[7-11]:
ܕܒܗ ܢܦܫ ܕܠ ܟܠܡܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܝܡ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡ ❖ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܓܫܡܐ ❖

Here the author speaks about several characteristic elements of the ministry of the visible Church. As we know in Syriac tradition ܩܘܪܒܢܐ refers to the Eucharistic celebration. Burning of incense, the offering of ܩܘܪܒܢܐ *etc*., indicates the visible ministry performed in a church. The author says that this visible ministry will end in this world. In the life to come, the nature of our ministry will take a different form. Here he means the ministry in the heavenly Church. The appreciation of the visible Church in the *KM* is missing in John. For him when one becomes a spiritual being the institutional Church loses its value. For him, the true Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܩܫܝܫܬܐ) is «the true knowledge in which is they (the believers) delight»[495]. The same reserve is there in his letter:

> Instead of gathering in a church we are made worthy by being the house-mates of God having received the revelation of His spiritual mysteries. Instead of light of lamps we are dignified the light of knowledge. Instead of the living bread and the cup of His blood we are dignified by dwelling that with us in His kingdom[496].

Even though this creates a sense of disregard for the visible Church and its institutions, it is not right to consider these texts as proof of his scepticism towards the role of the visible Church and the celebration of sacraments. We will see soon his appreciation for the sacrament of baptism. He only wants to make clear the nature of the elevated state of perfection and the possibility of the anticipation of the Eschatological fulfilment.

In his short treatise *On Prayer*, he presents this visible and hidden ways of life as the characteristics of the «Just» and the «Spiritual one» respectively.

> Whoever sings using his tongue and body, and preserves in this worship both night and day, such a person is one of the Just (ܙܕܝܩ). But the person who has been held worthy to enter deeper than this, singing in mind and spirit, such a person is a Spiritual being (ܪܘܚܢܝ). A spiritual being is more exalted than the Just, but one becomes a spiritual being after being just[497].

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[495] *Die Seele*, 88[21-22]: ܘܠܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܩܫܝܫܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

[496] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 38*[22]-39[*3]:

ܘܠܐ ܒܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܡܬܬܟܫܝܪ ܠܢ ܕܢܗܘܝ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܪܙܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܒܡܢܪ̈ܐ ܕܢܗܘܝ ܠܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܘܒܠܚܡܐ ܚܝܐ ܘܟܣܐ ܕܕܡܗ ܕܢܗܘܝ ܠܢ ܒܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܥܡܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ❊

[497] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *On Prayer*, 3[1-5], in S.P. BROCK, «John the Solitary. On Prayer», 89-90. English trans., *Ibid*., 98.

According to B. Bitton-Ashkelony usage of «Just (ܙܕܝܩܐ)» and «Spiritual being (ܪܘܚܢܝ)», can be reminiscent of the usage «Upright (ܙܕܝܩ)» and the «Perfect (ܫܠܡ)» in the *KM*[498]. While describing the characteristics of «Just» we can see a striking similarity with the Upright of the *KM* who follow visible ascetical practices including prayer, fasting alms giving *etc*[499]. Like in the *KM* here too the culmination of the state of Perfection is beyond the limits of human attempts. It is purely a divine gift[500].

b) *A Spiritual Man: An Associate of God*

The spiritual man is presented as one whose «mind that associates with God (ܪܥܝܢ ܕܡ ܚܒܪܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ)»[501] and one who enjoys «communion with God in His knowledge (ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܡ ܒܝܕܥܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ)»[502]. The verb «ܚܒܪܬܐ» derives from the root ܚܒܪ which means, 'to make a partner', 'to communicate', 'to associate', 'to have conjugal intercourse', *etc*[503]. The noun participation or communion (ܫܘܬܦܐ) has many significances. What is this «communion with God in His Knowledge»?. As we have seen

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[498] Cf. B. BITTON-ASHKELONY, «More Interior than the Lips», 324. While speaking about the people of OT time he uses the exact term ܙܕܝܩ as synonym of «Righteous (ܙܕܝܩܐ)», cf. *Die Seele*, 61^{5-18}. He calls the OT people as the «Righteous of former time (ܙܕܝܩ ܩܕܡܝܐ)», *Ibid*., 61^{3-4}. In his following narrations he says that they are only «Righteous (ܙܕܝܩܐ)» not «Spiritual being (ܪܘܚܢܝ)», cf. *Ibid*., 61^{11-12}. Hence they could achieve purity of the mind through their good works, but not more. See *Die Seele*, 63^{5-9}:
ܡܫܬܟܚ ܙܕܝܩ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܫܘܠܡ ܙܕܝܩܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܕܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܕܥܬܗ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܙܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܛܒܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܢܒܝܐ ܘ

in the *KM*, the Holy Spirit leads us to the divine truth and through his presence in us we can access heavenly realities. In Syriac liturgical texts, the relationship with the Holy Spirit and the person who participate in the Liturgy is referred to usually by the term ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ[504]. It is actually a Pauline expression[505]. The Holy Spirit who is present in us enables us to be in communion with God. John the Solitary also affirms that through this ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ with God that we can access the «revelations of mysteries (ܓܠܝܐ ܪܙܐ)»[506] and can enjoy the possibility to «converse with God (ܡܠܐ ܥܡ)»[507].

c) *A Spiritual Man: A Resurrected Person*

John the Solitary repeats many times that only in the life which follows the resurrection one becomes a spiritual man. If so, the order of the spiritual man is purely eschatological. The only exception is Jesus Christ. In *Dialogue on Soul* he makes it clear:

> Since there is no one who is raised to the accuracy of spiritual knowledge, on this account there is no one in the world who is perfect as a spiritual man except Our Lord Jesus Christ who showed us this mystery (ܪܙܐ) in His Person. Only He is the real truth (ܫܪܪܐ ܩܘܫܛܐ) whom the Apostle calls body and we members[508].

d) *A Spiritual Man: A Baptized Person*

It is true that John places the realization of the «spiritual order» in eschatology. For him, only after the resurrection can one reach this order. Nevertheless, he never ignored the role of baptism in anticipating the resurrected life, here in this world. John presents baptism as a type (ܛܘܦܣܐ) of new birth after the resurrection (ܫܪܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ)[509].

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[504] «ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ», *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 35.

[505] Cf. 2Cor 13:14.

[506] *Die Seele*,7[4].

[507] *Die Seele*, 7[3].

[508] *Die Seele*, 64[17-22]:

ܟܝ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܒ ܠܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܒܫܘܝܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܝܬ ܗܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܢ ܗܢܐ ܪܙܐ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܗܘ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܪܪܐ ܕܩܘܫܛܐ ܕܗܘ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܐܢܚܢ ܐܝܒܪܐ ❖ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ❖

The significance of the ‘truth’ and ‘mystery’ in Syriac theology are studied in previous sections. Here the Christ is identified as the real truth (ܫܪܪܐ) and the personification of the mystery (ܪܙܐ).

[509] *Die Seele*, 59[21-24].

Since the baptism is the symbol of the death of Our Lord (ܡܥܡܕܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ)[510] it is also a symbol of our death to this world and the beginning of the future life. Thus, we have two births and two resurrections: 1. The birth from mother's womb *i.e.* the physical growth in this world 2. The birth through baptism, the Mother of all (ܐܡ ܟܠܗ)[511], *i.e.* the growth in the knowledge of the new world. Similarly two resurrections: the resurrection of the last day, the beginning of eternal life; and the other at baptism, an introduction to the spiritual life[512]. There are some texts those defend this argument:

a) «Anyone who is baptized ought not to be regarded as he is in this life but in that life to come; not on the basis of his actions here but on the basis of his mode of life there»[513].

b) «The birth through baptism gives us birth to grow up in the knowledge of the new world. Just as the birth from the womb brings us to physical growth in this world, born through baptism we can come to spiritual growth in the new life»[514].

c) «Through the birth by baptism, we come to the way of the New Life»[515].

d) «The physical birth sends us to the physical world and the spiritual birth sends us to the spiritual world»[516].

In baptism «it is not the nature of the water which renews us, but the hovering of a hidden power»[517]. John speaks a lot about the renewing power of baptism. The «gift of forgiveness of sins (ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܚܛܝܐ

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[510] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 10*[10].

[511] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 9*[14].

[512] *John the Solitary*. *On the Soul*, tr. M.T. Hansbury, xvii.

[513] *Die Seele*, 72[19-21]:
ܗܘ ܕܡܬܥܡܕ ܒܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܒܗܝ ܚܝܐ ܕܗܠܟ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܗܝ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܘܗܝ ܕܒܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܦܘܠܚܢ ܕܒܗ ܒܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܢܗܘܐ ❖

[514] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 9*[17-21]:
ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܬܝܠܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܕܐܡܐ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܬܝܠܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܡܝ ܕܥܡܕܐ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܬܝܠܕ ❖

[515] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 10*[2-3]: ܡܢ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܡܕܐ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܬܝܠܕ

[516] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 9*[21]-10*[1]: ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ❖ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܐܢܚܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܬܝܠܕ

[517] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 35*[6-7]: ܠܐ ܗܘ ܛܒܝܥܘܬܐ ܕܡܝ ܕܡܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܐܠܐ ܪܚܝܦܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܣܬܝܪܐ

ܡܫܝܚܐ)»[518] that we receive in baptism is not an end in itself but it will lead us to «communion with God (ܡܫܟ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ)»[519]. The «seal of baptism (ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܚܬܝܡ)»[520] gives «freedom of new life in the blessed name of the Trinity»[521] and a «great gift of sonship (ܐܝܟ ܐܬܡܢ ܡܬܐ ܚܫܒܐ)[522]. In short, baptism commences «the way of the New Life after the resurrection (ܐܠܗܦ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ), which is similar to the «way of life of the heavenly hosts (ܟܠܗ ܐܠܗܫ ܡܝܬܐ)». The «beginning of the way of New Life is that one stays away from everything visible and begins to live as an angel of light»[523].

After the resurrection, it will not be only similar but completely equal to the life of Holy Angels (ܩܕܡ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܫܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ)[524]. In short baptism is a kind of half way realization of the Eschaton. For him to be baptized is to participate already in the New Life, but the final and complete participation is after resurrection[525]. It is similar to the state of the Perfect in the *KM* whose mind is in heaven while walking through the earth.

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[518] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 12*[23-24]; 13*[5].

[519] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 12*[17-18.22-23]; 13*[5-6].

[520] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 15*[16].

[521] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 15*[12-13]: ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

[522] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 15*[13-14].

[523] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 10*[4-6]:

ܕܐܠܗܦ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܫܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܐ ܡܝܬܐ ⁘

[524] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 10*[20]-11*[1].

[525] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 24*[11-13]:

ܕܠܐ ܡ ܕܝ ܐܠܗ. ܡܕܡ ܐܝ ܕܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ ܕܐ ܡ ܕܝ ܐܠܗ. ⁘

«If a person remains after his baptism in a spotless way of life, he is already in the New Life, except that he has not yet become complete in knowledge».

e) *A Spiritual man: A New Man*

We have seen that John describes the soulish man as an «external man» or one who leads the «visible way of life» and who begins the way of life of the «inner man». While speaking about a «spiritual man», John uses the Pauline terminology 'new man' (ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ)[526]. We have seen that with baptism the 'new life' (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ) starts and the person becomes a «New Man» who ascends from the visible way of life:

> The conduct of New Life is more exalted than chastity, or than giving to the poor, or than self-emptying of worldly goods, or than the endurance of afflictions, or than not dealing falsely... for we are required to do these actions in this life but when the transformation of our body occurs at the resurrection, we will truly be lifted up from these actions to be in the way of knowledge instead of in the way of deeds[527].

This term the 'new life' (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ) is there in the *KM* too in the same sense[528]. John the Solitary narrates the state of a 'new man' in detail. He ascends from the status of a servant (ܥܒܕ) to a beloved son (ܒܪ ܚܒܝܒ)[529] and becomes a «kinsman of God (ܩܪܝܒ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܣܬܪܝܗ)»[530] in His mysteries and can converse with God. He is brought to «perfection in the spiritual order (ܒܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬ) so that he is neither judged by God nor by people[531]. A new person enjoys «a state of mind more excellent than luminosity of soul»[532]. But he presents it as «one of the gifts given to us in the other world»[533]. When he receives a mind excellent than luminosity he comes up to the level to receive revelations. As the soulish man receives revelations of future life in this world, a «new man» has 'spiritual revelations' (ܓܠܝܐ ܕܒܣܝܡ) of the other world. John the Solitary uses different expressions like the «revelation of the New life»[534], the revelation

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[526] Eph 2:15; 4:22-24; Col 3:9-11.

[527] *Die Seele*, 48[18-24].

[528] Cf. PS III, 60[26](3,7). See this Chapter, section «1.3.3 a) *The New Life* (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ)».

[529] Cf. *Die Seele*, 7[1].

[530] *Die Seele*, 7[20]. The word «ܒܝܬ» means 'belonging to family or household', cf. Payne Smith, 45. It indicates family relationship.

[531] Cf. *Die Seele*, 7[13-15].

[532] *Die Seele*, 7[26]: ܡܕܒܪ ܕܐܢܫ ܥܡ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܢܘܗܪ

[533] *Die Seele*, 7[27]: «ܐܝܬ ܓܠܝܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܬܬܠ ܡ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ».

[534] *Die Seele*, 10[11]: ܓܠܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ. The expression «ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ» is there in Rom 6:4. See f.no. 33 in *John the Solitary on the Soul*, tr. M.T. Hansbury, 24.

of the «World which is to come»[535], the «wisdom of the other life»[536], the «wisdom of the life to come»[537], «wisdom of the new world»[538], «true vision»[539], *etc*., to describe the nature of this revelation.

f) *A Spiritual Man: An Īḥīdāyā*

In the second chapter, we have seen the state of perfection as an aspiration for *īḥīdāyūtā*[540]. John the Solitary shares the same idea. He presents the characteristics of a «new man» as a «true unity that is not divided against itself (ܡܥܕ ܚܕ ܗܠܝܟ ܗܘ ܪܥܝܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܐ)»[541]. This *īḥīdāyūtā* is actually one's participation or communion with God. John the Solitary presents God as the *Īḥīdāyā* to qualify Him in His perfection[542]. There is no duality in Him[543]. In his *Letter to Theodoulos and his People*, edited by Rignell, John the Solitary, says that a «new man (ܒܪܢܫ ܚܕ ܡܫܝܚ)» also shares this integrity:

> The «new man» has not two senses, that of the soul and of the body, because it is in complete harmony. It is indeed not two such that he would have twofold sense in itself, one of the physical world and of the spiritual world, one that drag him down to desires and another that would elevate him to wise thinking. Because he lives in one world, his knowledge is one. Since the «new man» does not live two lives in the new life, he has not two senses with two settings, split into a life of the body and a life of the soul. Because «one» is the power of his life in «one» world. His thought in wisdom of God is one[544].

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[535] *Die Seele*, 10^{11-12}: ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ

[536] *Die Seele*, 10^{19}: ܡܬܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ

[537] *Die Seele*, 10^{21}: ܡܚܝܐ ܡܫܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ

[538] *Die Seele*, 60^{17}: ܡܫܝܚ ܚܕܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ

[539] *Die Seele*, $61^{19.27}$: ܡܪܥܝܐ ܡܝ

[540] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 e) The Perfection: An Aspiration for *Īḥīdāyūtā* (ܡܫܬܘܬܐ)».

[541] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in L.G. RIGNELL, ed., *Briefe*, 30^{*5-6}.

[542] W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, IX, 96^{49-50}: ܕܡ ܡܬܝܚ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ

[543] W. STROTHMANN, ed., *Johannes von Apamea*, IX, 96^{50}: ܡܫܘܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܐ

[544] JOHN THE SOLITARY, *First Letter to Theodoulos*, in *Briefe*, 30^{*6-16}:

ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܡܫܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܪܝܫܐ ܡܥܒܕ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܚܕ ܕܡ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܬܝ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܪܢܫ ܡܥܕ ܚܕ ܕܡ
ܡܬܬܝ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܚܠܡ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܚܠܡ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܚܠܡ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܚܠܡ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܚܠܡ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܝ ܐܚܝܕ ܩܕܡ

John the Solitary try to explain human perfection in terms of human integrity, *i.e. īḥīdāyūtā*. This thought never provides any uniqueness to him. It was already a diffused theme among early Fathers and Christian writers[545]. As it is seen before in the *KM* this idea is explicitly said. There, this unity was expressed as an agreement between «outer man» and «inner man»[546].

3.2 The Tripartite System: A Summary

To explain the nature of these three orders, John explained many terms in their three orders[547]. The following table gives a briefing of his explanation to catch the nature and progression in these orders.

JOHN THE SOLITARY'S TRIPARTITE SYSTEM: A SUMMARY

Terms	ܕܪܓܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ Order at the level of Body	ܕܪܓܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ Order at the level of Soul	ܕܪܓܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ Order at the level of Spirit
self– emptying[548] ܫܘܬܦܐ	possessions	passions	opinions
mercy[549] ܪܚܡܐ	charity to the needy	compassion and forgiveness to wrongdoers	manifestation of God's mercy towards human nature
tranquillity[550] ܫܠܝ	abolition of wars	elimination of thoughts and distractions	undivided mind concerning truth

ܕܒܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܐܡ ܕ ❖ ܟܬܒ ܒ ,ܡܫܬܐ ܫܠ ܐܡ ܕ ܟܠ ❖ ܕܓܪܓ ܡܫܡܫ ❖ ܕܡܠܟ

[545] For a study on the authors who hold this view from patristic period up to Second Vatican Council, cf. L.F. LADARIA, «L'homme créé à l'image de Dieu», 89-147. The Fathers like Irenaeus of Lyons (*c.*† 202 AD), Evagrius Pontus (†399AD), Gregory of Nyssa († 394 AD), *et. al.* wrote much about this unity, cf., BEHR, J., *Asceticism and Anthropology*, Chap. II, «The Human Formation», 86-127. cf. K. CORRIGAN, *Evagrius and Gregory*, 22-126.145-146.

[546] See section «1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*» of this Chapter.

[547] Here certain main concepts are selected, for the detailed narration, cf. *Die Seele*, 82-92.

[548] Cf. *Die Seele*, 85^{22-26}.

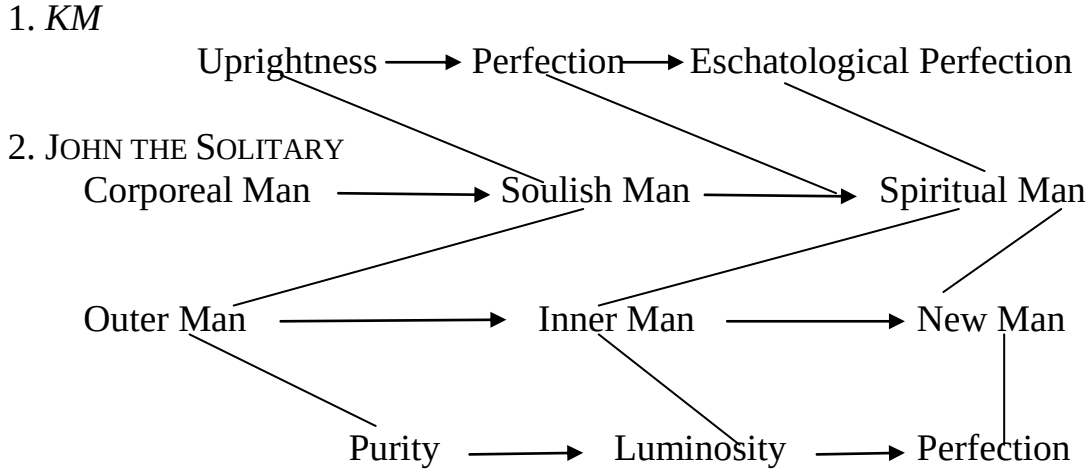
[549] Cf. *Die Seele*, 85^{27}-86^{10}.

[550] Cf. *Die Seele*, 86^{15-26}.

purity[551] ܙܟܝܘܬܐ	cleansed body	purity of intentions and illumination of thoughts	elevation above the world, reflection on God, constant gaze on Him
fasting[552] ܨܘܡܐ	restriction of provisions	abstain from evil ways	abstain from memory of hateful things
service towards God[553] ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ	vows and oblations	psalmody with feeling, pure thoughts in a clear mind	wonder at God
sacrifices[554] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	offering of things outside of oneself	offering oneself by the sacrifice of one's body	mystery of communion with God
altar[555] ܡܕܒܚܐ	table	mind which is fixed above	mind which is accompanied by wonder at God
hovering[556]	waving action of the hand	intelligence which shakes impure thoughts through virtuous recollection	mind which moves towards God
Church[557] ܥܕܬܐ	assembly of people ܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ	unanimity of mind in one faith	Church in heaven ܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ
love[558] ܚܒܐ	possession of the body with everything which is of the body	instruction of doctrine	divine love
love of God	loves because of the visible things	loves because of the promises	loves uniquely for Himself

[551] Cf. *Die Seele*, 86^{27}-87^{7}.
[552] Cf. *Die Seele*, 87^{8-14}.
[553] Cf. *Die Seele*, 87^{18-25}.
[554] Cf. *Die Seele*, 87^{26}-88^{3}.
[555] Cf. *Die Seele*, 88^{4-9}.
[556] Cf. *Die Seele*, 88^{10-14}.
[557] Cf. *Die Seele*, 88^{15-22}.
[558] Cf. *Die Seele*, 89^{1-9}.

From John the Solitary's descriptions, it is very hard to define or to draw strict border lines for these orders. As M. Nin says: «Nel passaggio da uno stato all'altro non si tratta di fare una rinuncia; non si deve rinunciare al corpo, infatti, ma occorre cominciare con la pratica delle virtù del corpo e dell'anima. Il corpo e l'anima non sono nemici della vita spirituale, ma strumenti e gradini inferiori di perfezione»[559]. More or less they are overlapping and representing joint endeavors. This three-fold pattern expresses three modes of life of a person. John never intended three hierarchical groups. The «soulish» man is not much different from the «corporeal» man. Here the vital role is played by the Soul. As we know the Syriac term ܢܦܫܐ has a wider meaning than the strict meaning of one element in man the «soul». It represents the «self» or «person». The ܢܦܫܐ or self of a person can be guided by corporeal inclinations or by the Holy Spirit. John the Solitary clearly distinguished body and soul and took from them the names of his first two orders. In corporeal order the person is dominated by the nature of fleshly body while in the soulish order he is guided by the soul which still needs purification from bodily desires. But in spiritual order the soul receives purity followed by luminosity and is moved by the Spirit of God to New World. The following diagram shows the interconnection between the tripartite systems of the *KM* and the writings of John the Solitary.



- As we have seen in the second chapter we have not enough evidence to declare the gradated community of the *KM* as hierarchical institutions.

[559] M. NIN, «La Sintesi monastica», 104.

The similar situation lies here in John too. As R. Kitchen says: «The orders of the Body, Soul and Spirit are internal to individual, patterns of the relationship of the self to the spiritual realities. Being internal, these orders cannot be judged from the outside and therefore, require no reference points in the external social structures»[560]. Hence, it is better to consider them as different states of an inner spiritual journey than to associate them with hierarchical classes.

- We have the term «Perfection» in both the *KM* and John. But for the author of the *KM*, it equals restoration of the state of Adam before his fall, *i.e.* fulfilment of a person that can be achieved in this world. While for John it is the pinnacle of his system which will be realized only after the resurrection. It is the state which the author of the *KM* intended through the «state beyond Perfection» that happens in the Eschaton.
- The corporeal (ܦܓܪܢܝܐ) order of John received only lesser significance in the *KM*. But the *KM* speaks a lot about ܦܓܪܢܝܐ not connected with its inclination towards sin but as an element which had a vital role in the journey of perfection because of its visibility which played an important role as the venue of pedagogy for all.
- The soulish (ܢܦܫܢܝܐ) order has its similarity with the Upright of the *KM* who involve themselves in worldly business but are in a continuous struggle to transcend the worldly desires.
- The Spiritual (ܪܘܚܢܝܐ) order is parallel with the Perfect of the *KM*. Just like the Perfect of the *KM* who enjoyed a kind of double citizenship, the spiritual ones of John are also enjoying their life in two orders. Since they are in the body John keeps them still in the order of Soul. But at the same time, John presents it as the state after the resurrection. Here lies the importance of baptism. For him, baptism is a type of new life after resurrection. Hence, the spiritual ones of John who are still in the soulish order can be in the order of spirit in an anticipatory way. Just as the Perfect enjoy the heavenly life while walking on the earth as if in a «mirror».
- The «purity» and «luminosity» are almost synonyms in the *KM* and are the characteristics of the Perfect. It helps them to have the anticipation of heavenly mysteries. But in the writings of the John they differ slightly. The purity has more association with the soulish order. The luminosity is associated with the spiritual order and considered as the crowning of

[560] R. A. KITCHEN, *The Development of the Status of Perfection*, 183.

purity and presented as the intermediate requirement between life in this world and that of the new world.

Conclusion

The analysis of the *KM* that we undertook from an anthropological point of view supports the conclusion of our second chapter. It is not so easy to bring out the original anthropological thoughts of the author in explicit terms from such lengthy but less systematically arranged texts of the *KM*. Any way, from the study that we made in this chapter we can say that the *KM*'s vision of «triple gradated Church» – our subject matter – never stands as an odd pattern among other gradations. As we have mentioned already, the tripartite approach is well defined only when he talks of the Church. In all other cases, bipartite approach is prominent leaving a space for a third state which is always presented as a gift of God and as something strongly bounded to heaven. The search for the reason behind this peculiar shift guided us to focus on the common factor in all these metaphorical approaches, the «baptized person». From our study it is explicit that the author follows the same pattern while speaking about man.

He presents man as a conditionally tripartite being. By the nature of creation, man is only 'body' and 'soul', but the 'Holy Spirit' dwells in him when he obeys the commandments of God and receives baptism. Even when he speaks about three components in man his focus is on the integrity of man. The «person» is on the focus of light, not his body alone nor his soul. Hence, we could see repeated exhortations to keep this singleness throughout the work. We associated this thrust with the traditional expression, the '*īḥīdāyūtā*'. The effort to keep this '*īḥīdāyūtā'* is the struggle of a person, *i.e*. of his body and soul. Here the guidance of the Holy Spirit is essential. The *KM* narrates this effort of a believer using several traditional metaphorical imageries as well as ascetical terminologies that we have seen in this chapter. The author follows the same pattern that he used to represent the tripartite man, while explaining the role of the 'body', the 'soul' and the 'Holy Spirit' using metaphorical expressions. Hence it is natural to have a bipartite prominence with an ample space to hold a third heavenly state. However, these attempts are not in three parallel ways. The person is on his move to *īḥīdāyūtā*. In him the visibility and the invisibility meet together through his visible body and invisible soul and heaven and earth through the Holy Spirit. Thus he has a kind of double citizenship.

Many Syriac writers including the author of the *KM*, focused on this unique capacity of man and paved their way to symbolic theology, the most flourishing pedagogical approach among Syriac writers. They spoke much about the sacramental character of this world. This created visible world is embedded with several pointers to the Hidden Creator. It consists of several 'symbols' (ܪܙܐ) pregnant with the 'hidden power'(ܚܝܠܐ ܣܬܝܪܐ) of the heavenly 'Truth' (ܫܪܪܐ). Through their physical faculties (external person), everyone can see these visible «symbols». However, the comprehension of the 'hidden power' and the participation in the 'Truth' is for those who 'self-emptied' and achieved *īḥīdāyūtā* and became the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit. Through the Holy Spirit dwelling in one's soul, he can comprehend the «hidden Truth» in the «visible». The knowledge of the «Truth» will gradually lead him to participation in it. In brief, the pedagogical presentation of the ascetical process of «becoming the temple of the Holy Spirit» that enables a person to enjoy participation in heavenly realities is the basic fact behind all the tripartite metaphorical approaches of the author. The presentation of a triple gradated Church fits into the same frame of thought. A person who is in the process of regaining the oneness or integrity in himself is imaged as one who could foster Church in his heart while his body acts as a temple and the heart as an altar. The person, in whom the harmony of body, soul and the Holy Spirit happens, is allowed to participate in the sacred time, *i.e.* in the heavenly Church. Hence, we can reach the conclusion that the gradated realities of the *KM* are not part of any historical ecclesiastical grouping. It is a pedagogical approach to narrate the spiritual growth of a «tripartite» person using the thought line of symbolic theology.

We have seen that the *KM* is embedded with traditional terminologies and ascetical expressions shared by several early Syriac Christian writers. Hence, as we suggested in the introduction, we analyzed the works of Aphrahat and John the Solitary to see whether they shared similar thoughts and exerted mutual influence with regard to the development of a tripartite scheme. We could not see any clear tripartite approaches in Aphrahat. However we could see slight similarities in thought. Their anthropological approach, *i.e.* man as a conditional «tripartite being» is almost similar, even though terminological differences are there. The vital role of Holy Spirit in leading a believer to his eschatological perfection is narrated with striking similarity. The concept of «believer as a temple of God» is there in both the authors and we can see it in the next chapter.

While comparing the *KM* with the writings of John the Solitary, giving particular emphasis to his dialogue *On the Soul* we can claim a growth in insight while moving from one author to the other. In the *KM*, the tripartite spiritual system was almost in a crude form and was on a path of evolution. In John, it became a well-defined clear system that was taken by many of his successors and became a major current from the 6th century onwards among Syriac Christian spiritual writers. Both of the authors used Pauline terminologies; «outer man», «inner man» and «new man» for the development of their argument. But we could sense a difference in their usage. For the author of *KM* each person is «outer» as well as «inner» person. He exhorts agreement between them in order to receive the Holy Spirit in its fullness. That means, for him «outer man» represents the physical aspects of a person while the «inner», his spiritual faculties. At the same time slight tendency is there to use the same terminologies to represent a category of people. One who keeps the desires for this world is directly called «outer man». But these terminologies never became expressions of his defined spiritual systems. But in John, these terminologies are more developed and incorporated into his spiritual system and he presented them as «modes of life». We have seen already the similarities between the well defined tripartite schemes of John with that of the *KM* which is in a crude state of development. The soulish man or the «outer man» of John has many things to share with the Upright of the *KM* while the spiritual man who can be the «Perfect» of the *KM* as far as he lives in this world and the apex that they reach after resurrection can be equated with the state beyond perfection of the *KM*. In John this culmination is expressed through the term, «new man», the one who achieved true unity (*īḥīdāyūtā*) in himself. In short, the thoughts of the author of the *KM* find their development and systematic presentation in the writings of John. We shall see in the next chapter that a person who is in the process of regaining this unity or oneness or integrity in himself is imaged as one who could foster Church in his heart while his body acts as a temple and the heart as an altar. The person, in whom the harmony of body, soul and the Holy Spirit happens, is allowed to participate in the sacred time, *i.e.* in the heavenly Church.

Chapter IV

The Mystery of the Triple Gradated Church: A Theological Study

Introduction

A systematic theology of the Church at three levels is presented mainly in the twelfth *mēmrā* of the *KM*: «On the hidden and revealed ministry of the Church (ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܘܕܓܠܝܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ)». Here the author invites each one to understand a tripartite person's spiritual growth in terms of his participation in ecclesial life. Such an approach is marvellous and deserves sincere appreciation from all. As R. Murray comments: «There is nothing like it in all early Syriac literature, though there exist recognizable echoes after it»[1]. It is seen in the Chapter II that the author presents different realities in three grades. The Chapter III focused on the reason behind such a pattern and reached at the conclusion that the basis of this triple gradated pattern of presentation is the individual person who is a «tripartite being». In this chapter, the *KM*'s vision of the triple gradated Church shall be analyzed. The expression, «The Mystery of the Triple Gradated Church» — the partial title of this dissertation — can be considered as the sum and substance of the proposed thesis, that is «the triple gradated Church in the *KM* never refers to three hierarchical groups, but to the spiritual maturity of a tripartite person in experiencing and comprehending the mystery of the one Church». Hence, in this chapter the focus is on the three main concepts included in the title, *viz*., the «mystery», the «Church» and the «triple gradation».

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[1] Cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 263.

1. Mystery

The first expression under the consideration is «mystery». Its Syriac equivalent is «ܪܙܐ / *rāzā*»[2]. In Syriac literature other terms like «ܨܒܥ»[3], «ܨܒܝܢܐ»[4], «ܨܚܝܠܐ»[5], «ܕܡܘܬܐ»[6], «ܨܠܡܐ»[7], «ܨܦܝܠܐ»[8], *etc*., are used almost as synonyms of *rāzā*[9]. The term *rāzā* is briefly mentioned under the section «1.3.3 b) *The Knowledge of Whole Truth* (ܪܙܐ ܕܫܠܡ)» of Chapter III. The *KM*, uses this term several times but never directly associates it with the Church. However, the deliberate use of this expression in the title of the dissertation is justifiable because of the reasons that are going to be seen in the following sections.

1.1 *Rāzā: Etymology*

The term *rāzā* can have different nuances of meanings like, 'a secret', 'a counsel', 'conspiracy', 'agreement', 'anything having a secret or mystical meaning', 'a type', 'figure', 'sign', 'symbol', 'likeness', 'a mystery', 'sacrament', 'the Holy Eucharist', 'magic rites',[10] *etc*. Since the Aramaeans were subject to the Persians since 538 BC (Cyrus' conquest of Babylon), it is natural to have borrowed Persian words in their vocabulary. The term *rāzā* is one of the borrowed words from the old Iranian language[11] to mean a royal secret. Gradually the term passed also into Hebrew and in the Book

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[2] It can also be written as «ܪܙ» or «ܪܐܙ», cf. P. YOUSIF, «Symbolisme Christologique», 46. For a detailed study of the origin and development of this term, cf. K. LUKE, «The technical term Rāzā'», 112-122; J. KOCHUPARAMPIL, «Theology of 'Rāzē», 248-277.

[3] 'sign', 'mark', 'pledge', 'standard', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 31.

[4] 'type', 'shape', 'figure', 'archetype', 'image', 'enigma', 'likeness', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 94.

[5] The Greek word τύπος is passed into Syriac as ܨܚܝܠܐ. It means 'type', 'figure', 'likeness', 'model', 'mould', 'example', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 180.

[6] 'likeness', 'resemblance', 'similitude', 'pattern', 'example', 'appearance', 'likelihood', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 86.

[7] 'image', 'figure', 'form', 'idol', 'an image on a coin', cf. Payne Smith, 480.

[8] It means 'shadow', 'shade', 'figure', 'type', *etc*., and derives from the root *Pael* «ܨܦܠ» which means 'to cover', 'overshadow', 'shade', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 174-175; Sokoloff, 534.

[9] Cf. I.-H. DALMAIS, «Raza et Sacrament», 176; T. BOU MANSOUR, «Étude de la terminologie symbolique chez Saint Éphrem», 221-262.

[10] Cf. Payne Smith, 28, 524; S. ROSE, *Church as Mystery*, 107-108.

[11] There are several loan words from Iranian language in Jewish Aramaic, cf. S. TELEGDI, «Essai sur la phonétique», 254-255.

of Sirach[12] it appears twice in secular sense. In Chapters II and IV[13] of the long Aramaic section of the Book of Daniel[14] the term *rāzā* is used several times. There it has a sense of an eschatological mystery, a «veiled announcement of future events, predetermined by God, whose unveiling and real meaning is reserved to God alone and the one inspired by His Spirit»[15]. The Greek term μυστήριον is translated as *rāzā* in *Peshitta*. In LXX μυστήριον occurs 21 times[16]. In NT also this term appears several times[17]. Many Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings use this term following the general tradition of the Book of Daniel[18].

The term *rāzā* and its synonyms took on different significances in Syriac literature. Aphrahat and Ephrem largely used them and they became key hermeneutical expressions in their literature. The multivalent use of these terms is evident mainly in Ephrem[19]. P. Yousif pointed out that Ephrem understands the term *rāzā* mainly in four senses[20]. 1) an «enigma» or royal

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[12] Syriac version of Sir 8:18: «ܪܐܙܐ ܕܥܡ ܣܟܠ ܠܐ ܬܫܪܐ ܚܘ (with a fool do not bind a mystery / secret)»; Sir 12:11: «ܪܐܙܐ ܕܡܓܠܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ (be not as one who reveals a mystery / secret)». For these Syriac text from the Book of Sirach according to Codex Ambrosianus, cf. N. CALDUCH-BENAGES – *al.*, trs., *Wisdom of the Scribe*, 97.112.

[13] Cf. Dan 2:7-18; 27-30; 4:6.

[14] The Aramaic section comprising Dan 2:4b-7:28.

[15] R.E. BROWN, *The Semitic Background of the Term 'Mystery'*, 8.

[16] For the details cf. R.E. BROWN, «Mystery (in the Bible)», 79-80.

[17] For its NT usage cf. R.E. BROWN, «Mystery (in the Bible)», 81-82; G.K. BEALE - B.L. GLADD, *Hidden but now Revealed*, 56-28. For the presence of the term in the Synoptic Gospels, cf. Matt 13:11; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10; in the Book of Revelation, cf. Rev 1:20; 10:7; 17:5.7; in the Letters of Paul, cf. Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1Cor 13:2; 14:2; 15:51; 2Cor 2:1; 4:1; Eph 1:9.10; 3:3; 3:9; 6:19.20; Col 1:26; 2:2, *etc*. Paul used this word to refer to the dispensation of God's plan throughout the course of history, cf. R.E. BROWN, «Mystery (in the Bible)», 81; R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 4.

[18] For a detailed study of this term in Apocryphal writings like 2Enoch, 3Baruch, and 4Esdras, cf. R.E. BROWN, «Mystery (in the Bible)», 80; ID., *The Semitic Background of the Term 'Mystery'*, 12-22.

[19] For Ephrem it signifies the sacramental character of the world and the visible realities of the Word as pointers to Christ. For certain studies on *rāzā* in Ephrem, cf. E. Beck, «Das Bild vom Spiegel bei Ephrem», 5-24; ID., «Symbolum-Mysterium»,19-40; G. SABER, «La typologie sacramentaire», 73-91; R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 1-20; P. Yousif, «St. Ephrem on Symbols in Nature», 52-60; ID., «Approaches to Divine Realities», 54-69; A. DE HALLEUX, «Saint Éphrem le Syrien», 345-346; T. BOU MANSOUR, «Étude de la terminologie symbolique chez Saint Éphrem», 221-262.

[20] Cf. P. YOUSIF, «Symbolisme Christologique», 46.

secret[21]; 2) a «mystery» in the sense of a reality that is incomprehensible to human intelligence; 3) a «simple sign»[22] as a means of knowledge and of indication; 4) a «symbol or type or mystery». The fourth sense is the basis of the symbolic theology, the celebrated characteristics of ancient Syriac literature[23]. Here ܪܙܐ is not a simple sign but a visible reality or sign pregnant with a hidden sense. Some times in such occasions its most frequently used synonym «ܛܘܦܣܐ / *ṭupsā*» is used for referring to the visibility of such figures while the *rāzā* for the hidden sense. In some other cases *rāzā* can be used for both[24]. In that way the visible realities of the OT that are pointed to Christ are *rāzā* or *ṭupsā.* At the same time the «Christ bearing sense concealed in OT figures»[25] is also *rāzā*. There is a relavant passage from the *Exp.* IV of Aphrahat that speaks much about the term *rāzā* as a visible reality or a sign pregnant with a hidden sense.

> Our father Jacob: he prayed at Bethel, and he saw the gate of heaven open, and a ladder going up to the heights. It was a symbol of our Saviour (ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܪܙܐ) that Jacob saw. The gate of heaven is Christ as He said «I am the gate to life; whoever enters by me will live forever» and David too said, «This is the gate of the Lord by which the righteous enter». And the ladder which Jacob saw, this is also the symbol of our Saviour (ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܪܙܐ ܕܒܗ ܙܕܩܝܢ ܥܠܝܢ ܠܪܡܐ ܡܢ ܬܚܬ), by whom all righteous people rise from below to the heights. It is also the symbol of the cross of our Saviour (ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܨܠܝܒܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܬܪܡܡ ܐܝܟ ܣܠܡܐ», who was lifted up like a ladder… Jacob called that place Bethel, and he erected a standing stone there in remembrance, the head of which he anointed with oil. In this our father Jacob was also presenting in advance a symbol of the rocks

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[21] Such a usage is in Dan 4:9 where *rāz* stands to refer to a divine secret. In *Hymns on Unleavened Bread* Ephrem presented *rāzā* in a same context as a 'secret' to be revealed, *HAz* XIV, 11[1-2]: ܪܙܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܚܒܝܒܐ ⁘

«The Mystery that kept secret from the disciples he revealed to John as a friend», E. BECK, ed., *Hymnen de Azymis*, 23; English trans., *Hymns on the Unleavened Bread*, tr. J. E. Walters, 60.

[22] Cf. P. YOUSIF, «Symbolisme Christologique», 46. Accordig to this sense, symbols of the nature are proclaiming Christ. Ephrem's XVIII[th] *Hymn on Faith* narrates this aspect well, cf. E. BECK, ed., *Hymnen de Fide*, 69-71; English Trans., *The Hymns on Faith*, tr. J.T. Wickes, 148-150. For more details, cf. G. SABER, «La typologie sacramentaire», 79-80.

[23] For the emphasis given to symbolical and typological approaches in Syriac literature, cf. S.J., BEGGIANI, «The Typological Approach», 543-557.

[24] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 4; S.J. BEGGIANI, *Early Syriac Theology*, 31-30.

[25] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 4.

which receive anointing. For the peoples who have believed in Christ are the ones who are anointed… thus the mystery of the calling of the peoples (ܪܙܝܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܟ) was shown in advance by the prayer of Jacob. See therefore my friend, how many symbols were hidden in this vision which Jacob saw: he saw a gate to heaven, which is Christ; he saw a ladder, a symbol of the cross; he anointed the rocks which are a type of the people (ܫܡܫܐ ܕܩܪ ܕܥܡܡܐ)[26].

The passage is self explanatory. Here Aphrahat uses the terms *rāzā* and *ṭupsā* for types or symbols of Christ in the Scriptures. For him the 'ladder and the gate of heaven' that Jacob saw, the anointed rocks, *etc*., are pointers to Christ and His economy. Aphrahat wants to say that the fulfillment of the divine economy can be anticipated by certain people like Jacob. The same thought is there in the *KM*. It is discussed in the Chapter III that the author of the *KM* claims that the «Perfect» can anticipate the fullness of truth. The term *rāzā* is also used to represent sacramental rites[27]. In its plural form (ܪܙܐ), it refers to Eucharist[28]. The divine or heavenly or Christological reality which is pointed to and invisibly embedded in the visible symbols or types which are generally denoted as «prototype or antitype» is often called in Syriac as «ܫܪܪܐ / *šrārā*», that means «truth or reality». It is the equivalent of the Greek term «ἀλήθεια»[29]. Aphrahat says about the 'Passover' which remained as a hidden 'mystery' in past, but now its reality / truth (*šrārā*) is revealed.

You have listed my friend to what to what I said to you about this Passover, namely that its mystery (ܪܙܝܐ) was given to former people, but its truth (ܫܪܪܐ) is heard today among the peoples[30].

According to R. Murray the 'symbols' or 'types' took on a horizontal axis of time, which includes all history from creation to the eschatological

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[26] *The Demonstrations*, A. Lehto, tr., 130-131. For Syriac text cf. PS I, 144^{25}-145^{11}. $145^{15\text{-}20.23}$-148^{4}(IV, 5-6). For the biblical episode of vision of Jacob, cf. Gen 28:10-22.

[27] Aphrahat in his *Exp.* I, uses the term *rāzā* associated with baptism, PS I, 44^{20}(I,19): «ܪܙܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ (mystery of baptism)».

[28] Cf. Introduction of Brock in *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 42; S.J. BEGGIANI, «The Typological Approach», 548. For the liturgical use of this term, cf. B. VARGHESE, «Liturgical use of the word Rozo», 125-133.

[29] See Chap. III, section «1.3.3 b) *The Knowledge of Whole Truth* (ܫܪܪܐ ܕܫܠܡ)»; cf. R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 4.

[30] PS I, $516^{3\text{-}5}$(XII,5):
ܫܪܪܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܦܨܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܫܪܪܗ ܫܡܝܥ ܗܘ ܒܝܘܡܢ ܒܝܢ ܥܡܡܐ ❊ ܕܐܬܒܪܟ ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ

kingdom, and a vertical ontological axis from God to creatures below[31]. In short the visible 'present' and the invisible 'future' as well as the 'visible creation' and the 'invisible divine realities' meet in *rāzā* or *ṭupsā*. Hence these terms became expressions of contrast between «concealing (ܟܟܣܝܬܐ / *kasyūtā*)» and the «revealing (ܟܓܠܝܬܐ / *galyūtā*)»[32]. Since the term *rāzā* can be used to refer to the internal sense as well as to the external aspects of a visible reality, in itself it is 'visible' as well as 'hidden'. S.P. Brock briefs this fact:

> Types and Symbols are a means of expressing relationships and connections, of instilling meaning into everything. They operate in several different ways, between the Old Testament and the New, between this world and the heavenly, between the New Testament and the Sacraments, between the sacraments and the Eschaton. In every case they 'reveal' something of what is otherwise 'hidden'[33].

The *KM* too agrees that the NT was hidden in the OT till the arrival of Christ:

> We who are the house of God, so long as this New Testament (ܟܬܒ ܩܝܡܐ) was hidden (ܟܣܝ), were under the Law, the Old Testament (ܟܬܒ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܩܝܡܐ), just like under stewards. But today the heir of the house is revealed (ܓܠܐ), we are no longer under stewards, but under the hand of the lord of the house, who is the Son, the Christ in the New Testament, who is Our Lord Jesus Christ[34].

With the background of this basic study on the term *rāzā*, now it is time to analyse the *KM* to see how the author uses this multi-faceted term and its equivalents. The detailed discussion of the nature of the use of *rāzā* and *ṭupsā* in the *KM* can be seen in the following sections.

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[31] Cf. R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 7.

[32] For the detailed description of *kasyūtā*» and *galyūtā* go to section «2.2.5 *'Ēdtā*: A *Rāzā*» of this Chapter; cf. SABER, G., «La typologie sacramentaire», 75-76.

[33] *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 42.

[34] PS III, 464[13-21](19,7):

ܟܘܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܚܢ ܟܕ ܗܕܐ ܟܬܒ ܩܝܡܐ ܟܣܝ ܗܘܝܢ ܬܚܝܬ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܬܚܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܐܓܪ̈ܐ ܗܫܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܓܠܝ ܠܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܬܚܝܬ ܐܓܪ̈ܐ ܐܠܐ ܬܚܝܬ ܐܝܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܩܝܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ❖ ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܒܥܐ ܠܝ ܘܐܡܪ

1.2 *Significances of Rāzā in the KM*

Like Ephrem, the author of the the *KM* uses the term *rāzā* with various senses. An analysis of the text is needed to find the nature of the usage of this term in the *KM*.

1.2.1 *Rāzā*: A Secret

The author uses the term with its direct meaning «secret». There are mainly two occasions[35] where this word is used in an ordinary sense of secret, *i.e.* the so called private matter that one does not want disclose to others.

1.2.2 *Rāzā*: A Symbol

The term *rāzā* is also used to indicate different visible but veiled 'pointers' (ܬܥܝܪ) of this world which act as 'symbols' or 'types', and are used by God to reveal the «truth». It is explicit in *mēmrā* III: «By all symbols (*rāzē*) God told the truth (*šrārā*)[36]; and all kinds of parables, he depicted through his prophets, from the beginning until the time God wished to be reconciled with human beings and sent His Son who came to establish a reconciliation of heavenly things with earthly beings»[37].

1.2.3 *Rāzā*: A Hidden Sense Refers to the Divine Truth

It is also a mode to use this term to refer to the hidden sense of a visible reality. This usage is there in the *KM* too. While speaking about the simple teaching (ܟܪܝܙܘ ܡܫܠܡ) of the author, the Syriac editor describes it as the riches of the mysteries (ܥܘܬܪ ܪܙܐ)[38]. As a part of the Pauline quotations the *KM* holds the expressions like heavenly mysteries (ܪܙܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ)[39] or mysteries of faith (ܪܙܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ)[40]. The Holy Spirit is the

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[35] Cf. PS III, 421[18.20](17,3), 840[23.24](29,11).

[36] We have seen that «truth ܫܪܪܐ» is a technical term used by the Fathers to indicate the «hidden power» of a visible «pointer». See Chap. III, section «1.3.3 b) *The Knowledge of Whole Truth* (ܫܪܪܐ ܕܟܠ)».

[37] PS III, 736[6-10](25,2):
ܟܕ ܫܒܩ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܫܪܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܩܕܡ ܕܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ

One who reveals and interprets these mysteries to the «Perfect». It is clearly said in *mamlā*: «through the Holy Spirit he has revealed and interpreted all these mysteries»[41]. However the comprehension of these mysteries is conditional. It is reserved to one who keeps the commandments and who lives in love; in other words to the «Perfect» of the *KM*.

> Christ dwells in lowliness and in the love of the lowly ones, revealing to them His mysteries (ܪܙܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ)[42].
>
> Whoever loves me keeps my commandments and I will love him so that I will show myself to him and reveal about myself to him and he will understand the power of my mysteries (ܚܝܠܗ ܕܪܙܐ) in what I manifest to him[43].

As R. Murray comments: «God has filled creation with his traces, inadequate yet valid pointers to Himself; He has given man a mind and the faculty of language which can appreciate these pointers, express them and follow them by the light of the gift of faith»[44]. One has to achieve the state of the «Perfection» to understand these mysteries. The whole Chapter III is dedicated to the analysis of the ascetical vocabularies of the *KM* to understand the process narrated there to attain the «Perfection». A series of ascetical imageries used to describe the state of «Perfection» are seen there. The above quoted text makes it clear that the power (ܚܝܠܐ) hidden in symbols (ܪܙܐ) manifests the Hidden God. However the comprehension of these mysteries is not the end in itself. The author places it as a state below the attainment of love and perfection[45]. When one attains the state of the «Perfection» God will raise him above the level of comprehension to the level of experience through participation. The author vividly narrates this process of elevation:

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[41] The Syriac editor presents the author as a «Perfect» who could understand the whole truth hidden in these mysteries through Holy Spirit. PS III, 4^{5-6}:

ܕܒ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܓܠܐ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܪܙܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܫܪ ܀

[42] PS III, 408^{2-3}(16,9):

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܥܡܐ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܘܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܕܓܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܙܘܗܝ ܀

[43] PS III, 376^{19-22}(15,17):

ܘܟ ܢܬܒ ܠ ܒܡܕܒ ܒܐ ܘܒܚܒܬܝ ܘܒܚܒܬܝ ܕܥܡ ܘܐ ܒܐ ܠ ܡܢ ܚܠ ܡܢ ܪܙܐ ܚܝܠܗ ܕܢܒܥ
ܕܓܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡ ܕܐ ܀

[44] R. MURRAY, «The Theory of Symbolism», 2.

[45] Cf. PS III, 200^{18-20}(8,5).

> Then the king, Christ will say «Behold, this person is now as perfect as on the day I fashioned him. Then Our Lord will open the gates of the heavens to him, and he will enter and enjoy (ܪܥܝ ܒܗ) in the riches of their mysteries[46].

Here the verb used to indicate the participation is «ܪܥܝ» which means «to enjoy, to rejoice, to take pleasure»[47] *etc*. Its inherited meaning surpasses the level of mere comprehension and indicates a kind of active participation.

1.2.4 *Rāzā*: An Instrument of Divine Pedagogy

It is already mentioned that in the Syriac writings the *rāzā* or *ṭupsā* are interchangeably used for referring to the innumerable veiled pointers (ܪܡܙܐ) to God's hiddenness. According to the author of the *KM*, the visibility of this created world is used by Our Lord for His pedagogical purpose. Since man after his fall has lost the state of «Perfection», along with his privilege to access the heavenly realities, God, out of His mercy chose a different mode to teach him. According to the *KM*, the fallen man who is in the state of «Uprightness» is very much attached to this visible world. Considering the level of his comprehension, God make use of the visibility of this world to teach him. To explain this fact the author uses the exegesis of Col 2:7 and Heb 8:5; 9:24; 11:3 and says that 'the things that are seen were made from the things that are not seen'. There are three passages from the *KM* to throw light on this idea:

> The revealed (ܪܒܠܝ) ministry is like the hidden (ܪܒܛܡ), everything that is seen (ܪܡܒܪ) is a type (ܪܡܬܠ) of something unseen (ܪܡܒܪ ܠܐ). And in the image (ܪܒܕܡܘ) of that which is unseen has been formed, this which is seen; and from the likeness (ܪܒܕܡܘ) of that which is seen, spiritual people can indicate who believes and desires to see. «The things that are seen were made from the things that are not seen», says the Apostle. This is why God prefigured in the body more than one images of salvation (ܪܫܡ ܪܒܕܡܘ) to the prophets and Apostles and then in the Spirit showed them the perfect prototype (ܪܡܬܒܝ ܪܡܠܥܐ)[48].

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[46] PS III, 141^{22}-144^{2}(6,2):
ܘܒܗ ܢܝܡ ܡܒܠܥ ܪܒܕܡܘ ܗܘ ܪܡ ܪܒܛܡ ܒܪܝ ܠܥܠ ܪܡ ܪܡܒܪ ܪܒܠܝ ܒܪܝ ܒܗ
ܠܡ ܒܝ ܗܝ ܪܝܙܐ ܕܡܝܗܝܢ ܪܒ ܒܛܡ ܠܥܠ ܪܒܟܪ ܒܪܝ ܪܡܒܪ ❖ ܪܝܙܐ

[47] Payne Smith, 57.

[48] PS III, 800^{4-14}(28,8):
ܪܡܒܪ ܪܒ ܒܪܝ ܡܢ ܪܡܬܠ ܪܡܒܪ ܒܪ ܠܥ ܪܒܛܡ ܪܒܠܝ ܪܒܒܬܒ ,ܡ ܪܒܘ
ܪܡܒܪ ܒܪ ܪܡ ܡܒܪ ܒܥ ܪܡܒܪ ܪܡ ܝܟܒܪ ܪܡܒܪ ܪܒ ܡܢ ܪܒܕܡܘ
ܒܠܡ ܒ ;ܡܢ ܪܡܒܠ ܒܡܒܪ ܠܒ ܒܠܡ ܪܡܝ ܒܝ ܒܡܒܪ ܠܒ ܪܡܝ ܒܡܒ

God has made two worlds and two ministries, so that from the one that is visible the other which is invisible may be seen. The same is the case with the visible and the hidden Covenant, Church, baptism, food, prayer, altar and gifts. In short, in every respect the ministry that is on earth is alike to that which is in heaven. And because people did not comprehend the heavenly one, he gave them its likeness (ܕܡܘܬܐ) on earth so that, when standing in the visible church and eating from the visible altar, they might live in eternity in the hidden Church, which is in heaven and eat from the hidden altar[49].

They exchanged the perfect prototype (ܛܦܣܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ) for the type (ܨܠܡܐ), as the Apostle said, «every thing visible is a type of that thing that is invisible and does not pass away»[50]. Just as neither the ministry that Moses showed to the Israelites nor the tabernacle (ܡܫܟܢܐ) were the perfect prototype (ܫܦܝܪܐ ܛܦܣܐ), but were type (ܨܠܡܐ) as it is written, that true tabernacle (ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܬ) that Jesus Christ entered first before us, so that in his footsteps we might also enter into it, is in the heavenly heights[51].

From these three passages it is evident that the author appreciate the sacramental character of this visible world. For him the whole creation is made up of 'symbols' and 'types' which serve as 'pointers' to the Hidden God and heavenly realities. He uses three terms, *viz.*, ܛܘܦܣܐ / *ṭupsā*, ܕܡܘܬܐ / *dmūtā* and ܨܠܡܐ / *ṭelānītā* as synonyms of *rāzā*. The term ܛܦܣܐ / *tapnkā*», which means the 'prototype' or 'original'[52], is used as a

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ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ

synonym of the technical term ‘reality’ or ‘truth’[53]. These terms are used in the *KM* not as strict «type – antitype» pairs. They offer a sense that goes more close with that of «image – truth» pairs. The author takes several realities from this visible creation and presents them as images pregnant with the power of invisible truth. That hidden truth is visible to those who are eligible for it by achieving the state of «Perfection». Others can see only the visible dimension of those images. The *KM* presents several «image – proto-type (truth)» pairs. The following table tabulated the realities from this visible world those are used by the author of the *KM* as ‘images’ to refer to the original / truth / proto-type that is already hidden in them but the full access can be possible according to the level of «Perfection» that one acheived.

Image		proto-type	
ܟܢܘܫܝܐ	the Perfect[54]	Apostles	
ܟܢܘܫܝܐ	visible Church[55]	hidden or heavenly Church	
ܟܢܘܫܝܐ	man without lust[56]	Angels	
ܟܢܘܫܝܐ	Incarnated Lord[57]	first man	
ܟܠܗܕ	everything that is seen[58]	everything that is unseen	

[53] The significance of *šrārā* in symbolic theology is already mentioned. See Chap. III, section «1.3.3 b) *The Knowledge of Whole Truth* (ܪܝܙܥ ܚܠܡ)».

[54] PS III, 232[24-25](9,13): ❖ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܗܫܐ ܠܘܡ ܠܘܡ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܝ ܕܗܫܐ

«The Perfect ones of today are the image of the Apostles».

[55] PS III, 289[12-14](12,2): ܟܠܡ ܕܒܗܝܟ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܗܕܐ ,ܘܡ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܗܕܐ

«Everything in this church is established in the image of that heavenly Church», cf. *Ibid*., 292[13-16](12,2).

[56] Cf. PS III, 344[20]-345[2](15,4), 601[19](21,7); 692[13](23,1); 920[5](30,24).

[57] The incarnated Lord is also presented as the Image; the *KM* says that «Our Lord took on our image», PS III, 545[14](20,8): «ܐܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ». In a different occasion this fact is made clearer, and it says precisely that the Lord took the image of the first man. *Ibid*., 616[14-16](21,11):

❖ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܪܝ ,ܘܡ ܒܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕ ܒܗܘ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܩܕܡܝܐ

«He took the example of a servant when he was in the image of that creation of the first human being», cf. 760[5](26,1).

[58] PS III, 800[5-6](28,8): ❖ܟܠܗܕ ܟܠ ܕܒܗ ܐܝ ܕܠܟܠܗܕ :ܟܠܗܕ ܕܒܗ ܠܟ

«everything that is seen is a type of something unseen».

ܐܪܥܐ	-do-[59]	-do-	
ܐܪܥܐ	earth[60]	Paradise	ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܐܪܥܐ	earthly Paradise[61]	heaven	
ܐܪܥܐ	tabernacle[62]	true sanctuary in the heavenly heights	ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

In the Chapter II, it is already seen that many other realities, like food, commandments, Church *etc*., are used by the author in a typological or symbolical way to present his thoughts. The above-mentioned passages as well as the table given above affirm the same idea. In this approach, he never stands alone but shares common tradition diffused in early patristic literature. The awareness of the sacramental character of this visible world led the ancient Christians to receive several symbols from this world and they could see the hidden invisible divine realities in them. The Fathers of the Church and other ancient Christian writers from all branches of Christianity appreciated the visibility of this world and tried to penetrate into its hidden meaning. Hence, the symbolic language became a celebrated characteristic of patristic literature[63].

1.2.5 *Rāzā*: A Triple Gradated Experience

From the etymological analysis of the term *rāzā* and from its significance so far seen it is justifiable to say that any *rāzā* can offer a triple gradated experience. Each *rāzā* has a visible aspect that points to the

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[59] PS III, 596[8-9](21,4): ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܐ «everything visible is a type of that thing that is invisible», cf. *Ibid*., 704[19](23,8), Heb 11:3; Col 2:17.

[60] PS III, 612[15-17](21,10):

ܐܪܥܐ ܡܫܬܪ ܟܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ,ܡܬܫܪ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܫܬ

«They descended from the heavenly Paradise that is the Perfect original and lived on earth that is the type».

[61] PS III, 612[20-21](21,10):

ܐܕܡ ܢܚ ,ܡܬܫܪ ܟܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ

«Adam descended and stood in the earthly Paradisethat is the shadow of heaven».

[62] Cf. PS III, 596[6-17](21,4).

[63] J. Daniélou made profound studies on typological, allegorical and symbolical interpretations given to the Biblical as well as natural realities by the primitive Christianity and whose echoes found in patristic writings, cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibberd; ID., *Primitive Christian Symbols*, tr, D. Attwater.

Prototype or the «*šrārā*» and at the same time, it holds the invisible «hidden power» of the pointed «*šrārā*». The *rāzā* as a visible sign is accessible to all through their physical sight; while as a hidden power it is comprehensive to a reserved group, *i.e.* the «Perfect» of the *KM*. They, who enjoy «luminous eye» or «mirror of the heart» or «robe of glory»,[64] can comprehend this hidden sense while living in this world. When they are elevated even beyond the level of the «Perfection» after the departure from this visible world, this experience of comprehension grows to the level of participation[65]. Hence the subjective experience of *rāzā* is triple gradated. It starts with visible experience (*ṭupsā*) and progresses to the comprehension or anticipation of the hidden power of the truth (*rāzā*) and culminates with participation in that truth (*šrārā*).

2. The Church

The next term under consideration is the «Church». For the author «Church» is also a *rāzā* seen in this visible world which is also used by God to reveal the truth (*šrārā*). Hence like any other *rāzā* it offers a triple gradated experience to each believer. That is the reason why as it is mentioned already in the Chapter II[66], the author presents the «Church» at three levels, *viz*., the «visible Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ)», the «Church of the heart (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)», and the «Church of the heaven (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܥܠܝܐ)». Before entering into its triple gradation, let us concentrate on the term «church / Church» and its significances in the *KM*.

2.1 *ʻĒdtā and Knuštā: Etymology*

The main Syriac terms used in the *KM* for the Church are «ܥܕܬܐ / *ʻēdtā*»[67] and «ܟܢܘܫܬܐ / *knuštā*»[68]. The word *ʻēdtā*[69] has several meanings

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[64] See the whole Chapter III.

[65] See section «1.2.3 *Rāzā*: A Hidden Sense Refers to the Divine Truth» of this Chapter.

[66] See Chap. II, section «1.5 At the Level of the Ministry of the Church».

[67] PS III, 85[17-18](4,1); 88[14](4,2); 233[19-24](9,14); 276[10](11,2); 284[4](11,5); 285-286 (title of the *mēmrā* XII); 289[1.7.13.15.20.26](12,2); 292[1.6.13.16.21.26](12,2-3); 293[13.18.26](12,3-4); 296[5-9-17-25](12, 4-5); 297[4](12,5); 301[15.18.23](12,7); 304[6.19.26](12,7); 305[14](13,1); 308[1](13,1); 372[12](15,15); 480[20](15,17); 492[12](19,23); 496[18](19,25); 497[2.5](19,25); 637[22](22,3); 769[11](27,2); 780[2.3.5](27,5); 797[14.24](28,8); 800[1](28,8); 868[12](30,3); 885[15-16](30,10). The pl. form ܥܕܢܐ in 293[23](12,3).

[68] Cf. PS III, 313[10](13,4); 389[7](16,1); 497[16](19,25); 508[21](19,32); 680[26](22,20); 681[5.13](22,20); 872[25](30,4); 496[4](19,24); 505[14](19,31).

like, 'an assembly', 'congregation', 'company', 'Church', 'temple or church'[70], *etc*. It is an equivalent of the Greek term ἐκκλησία and can be a borrowing from the Hebrew «עדה»[71] and a Christian development to designate «Church» as distinct from the Jewish synagogue (*knuštā*)»[72]. When the Church embraced the *Peshitta* OT as its own, by that very fact Jews rejected it. Due to the Christian adaptation of the *Peshitta* OT, the slight variations are there in the biblical texts and it can be seen that the term *'ēdtā* is brought more into the text. This term is there in OT *Peshitta* only 16 times; 12 times in Psalter[73] and 4 times in other books[74]. Here the observation of G. Johnston is notable:

> This evidence seems to suggest that the appearance of *'ēdtā* in the OT may not unreasonably be ascribed to Christian influence. Its very rarity is a telling argument in favour of such a hypothesis. If this word had been at the disposal of the Jewish translators, we should have expected them to use it much oftener. The fact is that Syriac like Palestinian Aramaic evidently did not originally possess *'ēdtā* which has been borrowed by Christians from עדה to denote Church[75].

I. Carbajosa[76] made an analysis of all these 16 occurrences in the *Peshitta* OT[77]. He says that even though the translators of *Peshitta* used *'ēdtā* and *knuštā* interchangeably, it seems that there is a criterion that pushes the translator to choose one noun or other. He noticed that the term *'ēdtā* is never used where «עדה» or «קהל» is associated with the wicked or

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[69] It is originated from the root «ܥܕܐ» that means 'to call', 'to fix a place' or 'time of meeting', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 400.

[70] Cf. Payne Smith, 402.

[71] This Hebrew term means, 'assembly', 'congregation', 'court', 'prayer meeting', *etc*., cf. M. JASTROW, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, II, 1043; T. NÖLDEKE, *Syriac Grammar*, §105, f.no. 2.

[72] R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 18.

[73] Cf. Ps 7:8; 22:26; 26:12; 35:18; 40:10; 40:41; 74:2; 89:6; 89:8; 107:32; 111:1; 149:1.

[74] Cf. Prov 5:4; Jer 6:18. 30:20; Joel 2:16.

[75] Cf. detached Note B: «Was the Syriac ܥܕܬܐ 'Edta a Christian coinage?» in G. JOHNSTON, *The Doctrine of the Church*, 143.

[76] Cf. I. CARBAJOSA, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 156-172.

[77] He noticed that there exists inconsistency in *Peshitta*'s Psalter in the usage of «ܥܕܬܐ». The terms «ܥܕܬܐ» as well as «ܟܢܫܬܐ» are used in Syriac Psalter to translate «עדה», «קהל», and «מקהלים» without any translation policy. The LXX is more faithful to Hebrew text and it translates «קהל» with ἐκκλησία and «עדה» with συναγωγή respectively, cf. I. CARBAJOSA, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 158.

enemies[78], or when the term is connected with a proper noun to refer to a specific group[79] or when it is connected in some way with Israel[80] or when it has some connection with «gods»[81]. In all these cases the term *knuštā* is used. Not the term used in the Masoretic text but the context is the reason behind the choice of the word *ʿēdtā*. It is always used in a context of praise of God by an assembly[82] or for representing «assembly of the peoples»[83], «assembly of the holy ones or the righteous»[84], «assembly of the Lord»[85], *etc*. The deliberate efforts to preserve the word *ʿēdtā* from negative contexts and from associations with Israel or characters of Israel's history support the Christian use of this term[86]. There are some proofs from ancient Syriac Christian literature[87] which show that *ʿēdtā* is the noun always used for the «assembly or congregation of the baptized in Christ», *i.e.* for the Church of the Christians.

In NT *Peshitta* also the Greek ἐκκλησία was not translated every time as *ʿēdtā*. It used the word *ʿēdtā* for the «Christian assembly which is cultic in character»[88]. In the places where the meaning is simply a gathering of people the translator used *knuštā*[89]. It is noteworthy that at Matt 18:17 all

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[78] Cf. Ps 22:17; 26:5.

[79] For example, «the assembly of Abiram» in Ps 106:17.

[80] Cf. Ps 22:23; 68:27 *etc*.

[81] Ps 81:2.

[82] Cf. Ps 22:26; 26:12; 35:18.

[83] Ps 7:8; 107:32.

[84] Ps 89:6.8; 149:1.

[85] Cf. Ps 74:2.

[86] Cf. I. CARBAJOSA, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 162.

[87] In the *Acts of Thomas*, in the Act I there is an expression, «ܥܕܬܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܗܝ ܥܕܬܐ (my Church is a daughter of light», *Acts of Thomas* in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܣܚ (176)[11-12]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 150; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 28. Aphrahat use the term *ʿēdtā* to refer to the Christian community, PS I, 776[3-5](XVI,5): ܘܥܠ ܥܕܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܙܟܘܪ ܕܩܢܝܬ ܥܕܬܟ ܩܕܡܝܬ «On the Church and the congregation of the peoples, David said, remember "your church which you acquired from old" »; PS I, 980[25](XXI,20): ܐܝܟ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܐܙܗܪ ܠܥܕܬܗ ܘܠܒܢܝܗ «Jesus admonished His Church and its children». Ephrem follows the same usage and his literary contribution includes even a collection called *Hymns on Church* (ܡܕܪܫ ܕܥܕܬܐ), cf. E. BECK, ed., *De Ecclesia*.

[88] Cf. Acts 8:3; 1Cor 19:9; Rev 1:4; S. ROSE, *Church as Mystery*, 83.

[89] Cf. Acts 19:32.39.41. Here the city assembly is represented as ἐκκλησία while *Peshitta* uses the derivatives of «ܟܢܫ». In Acts 7:38 the congregation of Israel in the wilderness is kept as ἐκκλησία while *Peshitta* uses the word ܥܕܬܐ.

other versions use *ʿēdtā* while Sinaitic Palimpsest (late 4th cent.) reads *knuštā*[90]. C. Burkitt makes a comment regarding this unique appearance:

> The use of ܟܢܘܫܬܐ here by *S* to render ἐκκλησία is in everyway remarkable. The Syriac for Church is ܥܕܬܐ and for Synagogue ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. Both words mean by derivation assemblies and both are probably derived from Jewish terminology, but the usage ܥܕܬܐ is appropriated to Christian and ܟܢܘܫܬܐ to Jewish assemblies... We must therefore suppose that the translator understood Our Lord to mean by ἐκκλησία not Holy Church, but some less august assembly appropriate to the social organization of the day, a piece of exegesis as surprising as it is refreshing. It is a pity that *S* is not extant for Mt 16,18[91].

The author of the *KM* uses these two terms *ʿēdtā* and *knuštā*. However, he never reserved the term *knuštā* for Jewish communities. It is used nearly 12 times; but never to mean the Jewish Synagogues. A close examination of all its occurrences reveals that while speaking about a 'gathering of faithful'[92] the author uses this term. Hence it can be considered as a synonym of the term ܥܕܬܐ as far as both represents ἐκκλησία in its literal sense. On one occasion the *KM* shares a clear statement: «the congregation of the Lord (ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ)»[93]. A vague usage is also there where the term *knuštā* in its plural form is used to refer to «other communities (ܟܢܘܫܝ̈ܬ ܐ̈ܚܪ̈ܢܝ̈ܬ)»[94]. It is not much clear whether the author intended to the 'communities of other religion' or to the other 'local churches'. Anyway, there are not enough proofs in the *KM* to support the argument that *knuštā* is reserved to refers to the Jewish Synagogues. Now the focus of the study

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[90] Matt 18:17 in *The Four Gospels in Syriac*, R. L. BENSLY, – al., eds., 45[17]; *Old Syriac Gospels*, A.S. LEWIS, ed., ܟܕ :
ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܐ ܘܡܟܣ
«But if he will not hear them tell it unto the synagogue; and if he will not hear the synagogue let him be accounted by thee as a heathen», English trans., *A translation of the Four Gospels*, tr. A.S. Lewis, 34. Here the translator used the normal translation of ܟܢܘܫܬܐ as «synagogue». But the intention may be the 'assembly'.

[91] *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe:The Curetonian Version*, II, F.C. BURKITT, ed., 274. In Sinaitic Palimpsest the missing portions include Matt 16:15-17:11 (f. 23 is lost) and hence it is not possible to see the usage in Matt 16:18, cf. *The Four Gospels in Syriac*, R. L. BENSLY, – al., eds., 41-42.

[92] Cf. PS III, 313[10](13,4); 389[7](16,1); 497[16](19,25); 508[21](19,32); 680[26](22,20); 681[5.13](22,20); 872[25](30,4); 496[4](19,24); 505[14](19,31).

[93] PS III, 309[22](13,2).

[94] PS III, 93[25](4,6).

turns to the principal term «ܥܕܬܐ» and its significances in the entire work of the *KM*.

2.2 *ʿĒdtā: Significance in the KM*

The *KM* gives a detailed description of the *ʿēdtā*. However more than any dogmatic presentation of the Church, it places it as a «*rāzā*» and keeps it in harmony with many other symbols and types used by the author to represent the state of «Perfection» objectively as well as subjectively. In the *KM* the term *ʿēdtā* stands as a multi-faceted term with its different significances which stand close but with slight differences.

2.2.1 *ʿĒdtā*: An Abode of God

The *KM* presents the term *ʿēdtā* as the place of the presence of God[95], in other words as the place where God dwells[96]. In that sense *ʿēdtā* is a 'temple' or a 'church'. Since the *KM* has its origin in ancient Mesopotamian culture, their 'temple' concept surely influences it. For Mesopotamians «temple was not a place of popular worship, but was regarded as the house on Earth of the city god»[97], *i.e.* a «temple» in its first sense is a dwelling place of a deity, only secondarily the «gathering place» of a congregation. The king was the god of the city. The temple was erected as the house or palace of a king[98]. Since Israel's actual King was

[95] It speaks about the presence of Lord in the Church in all its three grades. For His presence in the visible Church, cf. PS III, 292[1-6](12,2); in the Church of the Heart, cf. *Ibid*., 292[7-13](12,2); in the Church in heaven, *Ibid*., 301[20-24](12,7).

[96] There is a *Sogitha on the church of Edessa* that speaks about the presence of God in the temple. Probably this *Sogitha* may be written on the occasion of the dedication of the church of Edessa completed in *c.* 543-554 AD. For its critical edition with English trans., cf. K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 92-95; French trans. and textual commentary, cf. A. DUPONT-SOMMER, «Une Hymne Syriaque», 29-39. Later McVey provided a re-edited text with slightly varied translation, cf. K. E. MCVEY, «The *Sogitha* on the church of Edessa», 329-370. The author of the *Sogitha* speaks about the presence of God in the Holy Temple, Str.1[1-2]: ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܕܡܢ ܓܘ ܡܬܓܠܝ ܒܗܘܪܗ ܕܝܩܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

«Oh Being itself who dwells in the holy Temple, whose glory naturally (emanates) from it», K. E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 92; English trans., *Ibid*., 95; ID., «The Sogitha on the church of Edessa», 353; English trans., *Ibid*., 356.

[97] P. BIENKOWSKI, «Temples», 286.

[98] For the vital role of the temple in the cities of ancient Near East, cf. W. TOMA, *The Mystery of the Church*, 10-24.

God[99], the OT never coined a special word for the «Temple of God». It used «house of God (בית אלהים)» or «Palace (היכל)»[100], the same words used to refer a king's house[101]. The Syriac equivalent of the term היכל is «ܗܝܟܠ / *hayklā*» which carries various shades of significances like 'palace', 'temple', 'church'[102], 'nave'[103], 'holy place in temple', 'shrine in a temple',[104] *etc*. More than that in East Syriac tradition the part of the church which is meant for the people is called *hayklā*[105].

It is interesting to see how the author of the *KM* uses the term *hayklā*. It occurs nine times in the *KM*:

1 & 2) «Since we know that body becomes a hidden temple (ܗܝܟܠ) and the heart a hidden altar for ministry in the spirit let us be diligent in this revealed altar and before this revealed temple (ܗܝܟܠ)»[106].

3) «Our body will not become a temple (ܗܝܟܠ), nor will our heart become an altar»[107].

4) «Because of the Spirit that abides in it, it is in truth temple (ܗܝܟܠ) and altar; and because Our Lord dwells there, as it is written 'Your bodies are temples (ܗܝܟܠ) of Lord and Christ dwells in your inner man»[108].

5 & 6) «Bring an offering into Temple (ܗܝܟܠ)»[109].

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[99] In biblical tradition it is very clear that the King of Israel was God. Their historical kings were subjected to the King Lord, cf. 1Sam 8:7; 10:24; 12:12; Ps 5:2; 44:4; 47:6-8; 68:24; 74:12; 84:3; 145:1; Jer 10:10, *etc*.

[100] The Greek equivalent of היכל is ναός and it derives from the verb ναίω which means 'dwell', 'inhabit', *etc*., K.W. BOLLE, «Temples», 805-806.

[101] J.E. STEINMUELLER, «Temples (In the Bible)», 808.

[102] In the biography of the Patriarch of Antioch Mar Sèvére (512-518 AD) there is an expression, «ܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ (the temple of Mother of God)», cf. *Vie de Sévère*, M.A. KUGENER, ed., PO 6 (2.1), 48[11]; English trans., *The Life of Severus*, tr. L. Ambjörn, 48. Here it is clear that ܗܝܟܠ is used to refer to a particular church.

[103] In the *Biography of Rabbula* we can see the expression «ܗܝܟܠ ܕܥܕܬܐ» *i.e*, the *hayklā* of the Church to refer the 'nave'. *Life of Rabbula*, in J.J. OVERBECK, ed., *S. Ephraemi Syri*, 190[14].

[104] Cf. *Thesaurus*, 1003-1004; Sokoloff, 340-341.

[105] Cf. Payne Smith, 103. For the *hayklā* in East Syriac Churches, cf. P. MANIYATTU, *Heaven on Earth*, 149-178.

[106] PS III, 288[3-7](12,1):
ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܚܝ ܕܒܗ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܠܒܐ ܕܒܪ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܗܝܟܠ

7) «Visible sun shines upon this visible church and upon these temples (ܗܝܟܠܐ) of the body»[110].

8) «body and heart in which Our Lord dwells. Because of the Spirit that resides in it, it is the true temple (ܡܫܟܢܐ) and altar»[111].

9) «making their bodies temples (ܗܝܟܠܐ) and the hearts altars»[112].

Out of these nine occurrences, twice *hayklā* gives a general sense of «place of worship» – see above, the quoted verses 5 & 6. In all other instances ܡܫܟܢܐ refers to the body of the believers. Hence it is clear that the author uses this word primarily as a temple, *i.e.* the «dwelling place of God» and secondarily as a «place of worship». The East Syriac traditional concept of *hayklā* as the inner space of the church reserved for the faithful is absent here. And again, the *KM* sees *hayklā* and *ēdtā* as equivalent terms. The *hayklā* is often paired with the Syriac term for the altar «*madbḥā*»[113]. The same pattern of pairing is there with *ēdtā* and *madbḥā*[114]. From the above mentioned seven instances where the term *hayklā* stands as an abode of the Lord and hence as a synonym of *ēdtā*, it is possible to infer that the author deliberately used *hayklā* instead of *ēdtā* for emphasizing the church building as earthly abode of God independent of the presence or absence of a congregation.

2.2.2 *ʿĒdtā*: An Assembly of the Faithful

It is seen that the author uses the word *knuštā* when he wants to speak about an assembly of people. The term *ʿēdtā* too is used in similar contexts. For example, when the author makes allusions to Matt 18:17 he used the term «ܟܢܘܫܬܐ»[115] as referring to the congregation of people.

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[109] PS III, 633[8-9](22,1); 680[18-19](22,20): ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܗܕܐ

[110] PS III, 301[17-19](12,7):

ܘܒܟܠ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܫܟܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܠܘܬ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܓܠܝܐ

2.2.3 *ʿĒdtā*: A Sacred Building of Praise and Worship

While speaking about *ʿēdtā* as *hayklā*, along with its significance as the 'abode of God', it is seen that the term can be used to refer to a place of worship for an assembly. This secondary aspect is also projected in the *KM*, *i.e.* the aspect of worship. The temple or *hayklā* is the place where people are gathering for religious worship. In a temple or *hayklā* the worship is centered on the «ܡܕܒܚܐ / *madbḥā*». The term *madbḥā* derives from the root «ܕܒܚ» which means «to sacrifice, to slaughter», *etc.*[116]. *Madbḥā* has different meanings like 'altar', 'sanctuary', 'small church', 'the holy place where the altar stands', *etc.*[117]. As it is seen that the *hayklā* can be a church building in general as well as a place within *hayklā* reserved for the faithful, the *madbḥā* can also have two main significances; «altar» as well as the «sanctuary» where the altar is placed[118]. It is also notable that as a symbol *madbḥā* represents different realities[119]. It is the symbol of the Lord[120] and His tomb[121]. For the author of the *KM* the *ʿēdtā*

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[116] Cf. Sokoloff, 269.

[117] Cf. Payne Smith, 251; Sokoloff, 711.

[118] In the *Sogitha* both these senses for the *madbḥā* can be seen. For *madbḥā* as altar see, *Sogitha*, Str. 18: ܒܢܝ ܡܟ ܟܗܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܠܟܘܟ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܥܠܝܐ ⁘ «Portrayed by the ten columns that support the Cherub of its altar are the ten Apostles», Syriac text, K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 94; English trans., *Ibid*., 95; ID., «The *Sogitha* on the church of Edessa», 355; English trans., *Ibid*., 358. McVey comments on «ܟܘܟ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ» as «a ciborium over the altar adorned with carved depictions of a pair of cherubim», K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 105. In the same *Sogitha* the term *madbḥā* gives a meaning different from that of 'altar' as 'sanctuary', the place where the altar is placed. *Sogitha*, Str. 13: ܡܢܗ ܢܗܪ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬ ܦܬܚܝܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܒܗ ⁘ «One light shines forth also in its sanctuary by three open windows», K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 92; English trans., *Ibid.*, 93; ID., «The *Sogitha* on the church of Edessa», 357; English trans., *Ibid*, 358.

[119] For the symbolism of *madbḥā* in Syriac tradition with particular emphasis to East Syriac tradition, cf. P. MANIYATTU, *Heaven on Earth*, 159-162.

[120] It is explicitly described in an early *Commentary on Liturgy* found in BL Add. 14,538 ff. 68a-b, verse no. 38: ⁘ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ,ܥܡܢܐܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܪܝ «The altar indicates to us Immanuel who is the Tree of Life», S.P. BROCK, «An Early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy», 393. As seen before in the *KM* too the «Tree of Life» is Christ; see Chap. II, section «1.3.3 The Eschatological Food». Again in the third *Hymn on the Crucifixion* Ephrem calls the Lord altar, *HCruc* III, 10[3]: ⁘ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܡܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܪ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܢ «Our Lord is made into the true altar», E. BECK, ed., *De Crucifixione*, 52.

is a place of worship and he speaks about the rites of cult happening in its three grades[122]. Later, in this Chapter, the nature of the worship which happens at each grade of the Church (*ʿēdtā*) is going to be discussed.

2.2.4 *ʿĒdtā*: A Believer

For the anonymous author of the *KM*, a believing person at the climax of his spiritual journey in this world can become an *ʿēdtā*, the dwelling place of Our Lord. He presents the believer as a hidden church consisting of his body as *hayklā* and the heart as *madbḥā*. Several times the *KM* repeats the expression, «the body becomes a hidden temple and the heart a hidden altar»[123]. In this aspect the author follows the vision of Aphrahat[124]. According to Aphrahat the goal of the Christians in this life is to become temples of Christ. S.K.S. Jarkins summarizes the uses of temple imagery in Aphrahat as: «Through the transformation of becoming a divine temple, the person may experience what Aphrahat himself experienced, an ascent to heaven through the mind and heart. The greatest temple of heaven is accessed *via* the smallest temple of the human heart»[125]. Aphrahat uses several terms like «ܥܕܬܐ»[126], «ܒܝܬ»[127], «ܡܢܐ»[128] «ܗܝܟܠ»[129],

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[121] In the *Commentary on Liturgy* that mentioned above in the verse no. 43 it is written that «ܗܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܒܘܪܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܗܘ» (The altar is the place of the sepulchre of Our Lord)», S.P. Brock, «An Early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy», 389.

[122] For the service in the visible Church, cf. PS III, 292[1-6](12,2); for that in the Church of the heart, cf. PS III, 289[9-12](12,2); and for that in the heavenly Church, cf. PS III, 288[9-13](12,1).

[123] PS III, 288[4-5](12,1): ܗܟܝܠ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܗܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܗܝ ܒܝܬ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. For similar expressions cf. PS III, 289[18](12,2); 292[8-13](12,2); 293[4-5](12,3); 301[17-19](12,7). As a criticism against the tendencies of spiritualization of ecclesial duties, the *KM* makes a statement in PS III, 261[16-17](10,7):ܐܢ ܠܒܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܢܬܟܠܡ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢ ܕܠܒܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ «If we wish not to be diligent for the Church we dispute the words: our heart is a church».

[124] For a detailed study of the *hayklā* in the Aphrahat, cf. S.K.S. Jarkins, *Aphrahat the Persian*, 29-72.

[125] S.K.S. Jarkins, *Aphrahat the Persian*, 29.

[126] The term ܥܕܬܐ means ‘abode’ or ‘dwelling’, cf. Sokoloff, 802. Aphrahat calls a believer as the «abode of Christ (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ)», PS I, 9[2](I,3); «house of abode for Christ (ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ)», PS I, 429[4](IX,9).

[127] The expressions that refers to a believer as a ‘house (ܒܝܬ) of God’ is frequent in Aphrahat, cf. PS I, 301[17.19](VI,17); 429[2-4](IX,9); 661[17-21](XIV,35), *etc*.

[128] The term ܡܢܐ — derives from the root «ܡܢܐ to dwell» — means «dwelling, sheepfold, monastery», cf. Sokoloff, 287. 300. This term is seen in the Chapter I as the term used for the monasteries, see Chap.I, section «2.5.9 A Recation to the Fifth-

«ܗܝܟܠ»[130], *etc*. to present a person as an «abode of God». The key term among them which is relevant in this study is *hayklā*. Aphrahat presents the individual person as a «*hayklā* of God» basing on certain scriptural passages. In his *Expositions* he uses mainly five biblical references (Jer 7:4-5; Lev 26:12; 1Cor 3:16; 2Cor 6:16; John 14:20) to speak about the dwelling of God in a person[131]. The nature of the use of this term in Aphrahat is almost summarized in the following passage from *Exp*. I:

> Now hear about the faith which is placed on the rock and about the building which is raised upon the rock. For first a person believes, when he believes he loves. When he loves, he hopes, when he hopes he is justified, when he is justified he is perfected. When he is perfected he is completed. When his whole building has risen up, completed and perfected then it becomes the house and temple for the dwelling of Christ as Jeremiah the prophet said, «the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord: the temple of the Lord are you if you amend your ways and works» (Jer 7:4-5). And again he said through the prophet, «I will dwell among them and I will walk among them» (Lev 26:12). The blessed Apostle also said: «You are the temple of God and the Spirit of Christ lives in You» (1Cor 3:16). And Our Lord also said to his disciples, «You are in me and I am in you» (John 14:20)[132].

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century Institutionalization of Syriac Asceticism». In the *Expositions* of Aphrahat, there is an expression «sons of his dwelling (ܒܢܝ ܕܝܪܬܗ)», cf. PS I, 684[7](XIV,39); 692[24](XIV,41).

[129] Cf. PS I, 9[2.4.8](I,3); 13[19](I,5); 101[19](III,2); 157[22-23](IV,10); 197[3](V,7); 221[10](V,20); 228[9](V,22); 252[11](VI,1); 280[22](VI,10); 284[5](VI,11); 292[19](VI,14); 297[17](VI,15); 416[3](IX,4); 421[24](IX,7); 524[22](XII,8); 525[3](XII,8); 569[2](XII,12); 645[20](XIV,28); 661[17](XIV,35); 680[13](XIV,38); 796[1](XVII,6); 800[8-9](XVII,7); 941[2](XXI,4); 945[20](XXI,5); 972[16.20](XXI,17); PS II, 92[25](XXIII,47); 121[13](XXIII,59).

[130] The term «ܗܝܟܠ», the synonym of *hayklā* from the Greek root ναός, appears once in the Aphrahat's *Expositions*, PS II, 121[14](XXIII,59): ܐܬܟܠܡ ܥܡ ܟܠܡܝ ܗܝܟܠ̈ܟ ܘܪܘܡܡܢ̈ܝܬ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܬܬܟ

«You have called us Your temples and Your greatness walks in us». In the *Acts of Thomas*, in Act I, there is an expression «ܗܝܟ̈ܠ ܕܟܝܐ (pure temples)», cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܟܦ (181)[7]; English trans., *Ibid*., II, 155; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 54.

[131] For the distribution of these biblical texts in *Expositions*, cf. S.K.S. JARKINS, *Aphrahat the Persian*, 31, f.no. 99.

[132] PS I, 8[19]-9[11](I,3):

ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܢ ܬܫܦܪ̈ܘ ܦܓ̈ܪܟ̈ܘܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܢ ܬܫܦܪ̈ܘ ܦܓ̈ܪܟ̈ܘܢ ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܬܟ ܐܬܬܟ ܐܫܪܐ ܒܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܗܠܟ ܒܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢ ܙܕܩ ܐܢ ܙܕܩ ܐܢ ܓܡܪ ܐܢ ܓܡܪ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܗܝܟ̈ܠ ܕܡܫܟܢ̈ܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܪܡܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܢ ܬܫܦܪ̈ܘ ܦܓ̈ܪܟ̈ܘܢ ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܬܟ ܐܫܪܐ ܒܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܗܠܟ ܒܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢ ܙܕܩ ܐܢ ܙܕܩ ܐܢ ܓܡܪ ܐܢ ܓܡܪ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܗܝܟ̈ܠ ܕܡܫܟܢ̈ܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܪܡܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ

From the comparison between Aphrahat and the author of the *KM* for their presentation of the believer as an abode of the Lord, certain facts are noteworthy. Aphrahat uses the term *ēdtā* to refer to a Christian community[133] and never uses *hayklā* for that. He reserved the usage of *hayklā* to refer to an individual believer as an 'abode of the Lord'. The author of the *KM* shares the same line of thought and exhorts to make one's body the *hayklā* and the heart the *madbḥā*. In addition to that he uses one more metaphorical expression, *viz.*, the «Church of the heart». Like Aphrahat, the *KM* too develops this thought based on scriptural passages. It shall be examined in a following section.

2.2.5 *'Ēdtā*: A *Rāzā*

It is true that the author is not providing any direct expression like the «Church is a *rāzā* or mystery». However from his mode of presentation of the Church it is rather clear that for him Church is a *rāzā*. While speaking about the visible Church he makes an affirmation that «everything that exists in this Church is established in the image (ܕܡܘܬܐ) of that hidden Church»[134]. It is also notable that he uses certain synonyms of *rāzā* to speak about the Church:

ܥܒܕܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܬܩܢ ܘܐܬܬܒܢܐ ܀

English translation is slightly modified from that of Lehto, cf. *Demonstrations*, A. Lehto, tr., 69.

[133] For the use of the term *'ēdtā* in Aphrahat, cf. S.K.S. JARKINS, *Aphrahat the Persian*, 59, f.no. 220.

[134] PS III, 289[12-14](12,2): ܟܠܡ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ̈ܝܟܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܡܬܬܩܢ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܬܠܝܬ

The *Sogitha* even more specifically says that not only the 'church' but also the things kept inside are mysteries, Str. 3[1-2]: ❊ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܫ ܐܬ ܒܟ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ❊ «Clearly portrayed in it are the mysteries of both Your Essence and Your Dispensation», K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 92; ID., «The *Sogitha* on the church of Edessa», 353. It says that the church of Edessa consists of symbols of both the Divine essence (ܐܝܬܘܬܐ - whose Greek equivalent is οὐσία or ὑπόστασις) as well as His plan (ܕܒܪ̈ܝܫ). The ܕܒܪ̈ܝܫ is a technical term of theology which corresponds to Greek οἰκονομία. See commentary on this strophe for more details, cf. A. DUPONT-SOMMER, «Une Hymne Syriaque», 33. Same idea again repeats in *Sogitha*'s *Str*. 20[1-4]: ❊ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܪ̈ܝܫ ܐܝܬ ܕܒܗ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܪ̈ܝܫ ܐܝܟ ❊

«Exalted are the mysteries of this temple in which heaven and earth symbolize the most exalted Trinity and our Saviour's Dispensation», K.E. MCVEY, «The Domed Church», 94; English trans., *Ibid*., 95; ID., «The *Sogitha* on the church of Edessa», 355; English

> As for the Church in heaven, everything that is beautiful takes its beginning from there, and from there the light has shone out upon us on all sides. After its likeness (ܕܡܘܬܐ) the Church on earth came into being along with its priests and its altar; according to the type (ܛܘܦܣܐ) its ministry the body ministers outwardly, while the heart serves as a priest inwardly[135].

From these passages, it is possible to say that according to the author of the *KM*, the visible Church in this world is the 'symbol' or '*rāzā*,' of that Church in Heaven. Here instead of the term *rāzā*, either of the synonymic terminologies, *viz*., *ṭupsā* or *dmūtā* is used. It is seen already that the theological significance of a *rāzā* stands on the contrast between the 'concealing' (*kasyūtā*) and the 'revealing' (*galyūtā*)[136]. According to S.P. Brock, the contrast between the *kasyūtā* and *galyūtā* is a tension between the transcendence and immanence of God[137]. Any discussion concerning *galyūtā* and *kasyūtā* includes subjective as well as objective approaches. From the 'subjective point' of view, a person can conceive the hiddenness (*kasyūtā*) of God only through the instances of His self revelation (*galyūtā*), *i.e.* through types and symbols of the nature and Scripture, which is culminated in His Incarnation. Even there, as Ephrem observes in his *Hymns on Faith*, the divinity remains hidden before human comprehension[138]. However, a reversal happens in the objective approach:

> Seen from this perspective types and symbols are not *galyata* instances of divine manifestation through visible creation; rather, they have hiddenness which points to something that will one day be revealed: what is hidden in the

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trans., *Ibid*., 358. For a detailed narration of symbolism in this *Soghitha*, cf. A. GRABAR, «Le temoignage», 54-55.

[135] PS III, 292[13-19](12,2):
ܟܝܡܐ ܠ ܫܠ ܕܡ ܕܡ ܟܥܡܐ ܠܡܕܡ ܕܥܦ ܕܡ ܕܡ ܥ, ܡ ܚܢ ܚܝܢ ܟܡܐ ܕܥܡܟ ܟܡܐ ܕܡ ܚܝܢ ܡܡ ܡܡܥܡܥ ܟܦܛܣ ܡܡܕ ܡܕ ܟܚ ܟܝܢ ܟܡܐ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܚ ܡܕ ܡܡ ܟܡ ܟ ܟ ܟ

symbols of nature and scripture is revealed in Christ at the Incarnation; what lies hidden in the Sacraments will be revealed at the Eschaton, in Paradise[139].

The contrast between *galyūtā* and *kasyūtā* results in contrast between «sacred time» and «historical time». The «historical time» is linear and each point in time has a 'before' and an 'after'. The 'sacred time' on the other hand is an 'eternal now'. For the sacred time 'content' is important not the sequence of events. Since the heavenly realities belongs to 'sacred time', they can be experienced in varying degrees, by individuals already in 'historical time' on earth[140], according to the level of their spiritual growth.

The contrast between the *kasyūtā* and *galyūtā* is a favourite theme for the author of the *KM*. The title of the twelfth *mēmrā* «On the hidden and revealed ministry of the Church (ܥܠ ܪܙܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܘܓܠܝܐ ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܕܫܪܪ

3. The Triple Gradated Church

The third concept under the consideration of this Chapter is the «triple gradation» concerning the Church. As it is mentioned many times, the author presents the Church at three levels, *viz*., the 'visible Church' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ), the 'Church of the heart' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ), and the 'Church of the heaven' (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ). Now it is easy to comprehend that the author speaks about only one Church, as a *rāzā* which provides a «triple gradated» experience to a «tripartite person» in accordance with his natural capacities[143]. As it is seen already, the main significance that is given by the *KM* to the term *'ēdtā* is *hayklā*, *i.e.* the «abode of God». At the same time the anonymous author took certain other imageries from this created visible world and used them to teach us about the mystery of the Church. Being the symbols (*rāzē*) used to represent the triple gradated Church they also share a triple gradated pattern.

3.1 *The Imageries of 'Ēdtā*

The 'types' or 'images' of *'ēdtā* used in the *KM* are taken from the history of the faithful. These images stand very close to their life and played essential roles in their spiritual journey. The significant ones are presented in the following sections.

3.1.1 Triple Gradated Jerusalem

The *KM* uses 'Jerusalem' as an image of *'ēdtā*. The name «ܐܘܪܫܠܡ / *'ōrēšlēm*» means «foundation or possession of peace»[144]. In the *KM*, there are two occasions where the term 'Jerusalem' refers to the historical place[145]. In all other cases it is used as the part of symbolic expressions and the *KM* presents it as: «Jerusalem that in heaven (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)»[146], «exalted Jerusalem (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܪܡܐ)»[147], «Jerusalem that at above (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܠܥܠ)»[148], «Jerusalem that in Spirit (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܪܘܚܐ)»[149], *etc*. All these phrases are used in the *KM* to speak about the abode of the Perfect or the

[143] See the whole Chap. III.
[144] Payne Smith, 8.
[145] Cf. PS III, 132^{2}(5,17); 152^{1}(7,2).
[146] PS III, 329^{11}(14,2); 372^{11}(15,15); 608^{13}(21,8).
[147] PS III, 144^{14}(6,2); 328^{19}(14,2); 329^{9-10}(14,2); 776^{19}(27,4).
[148] PS III, 144^{7}(6,2); 193^{8}(8,2); 741^{6}(25,4); 869^{8}(30,3).
[149] PS III, 608^{14}(21,8).

Saints[150]. Generally these kind of expressions are belonging to the apocalyptic tradition[151]. It is interesting to note that the expression «heavenly Jerusalem (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ)» is not seen in early Syriac writings including that of Aphrahat and Ephrem. Since the Book of Revelation in which this theme is prevalent was a later addition to the Syriac canon, many scholars justified its absence in their writings. Then its exceptional presence in the *KM* stands as a riddle to be solved. How this concept entered into the *KM*?

It is a well known fact that the city of Jerusalem became the centre of life of both the OT and the NT people. Its historical details are not under the scope of this study; the focus is on its symbolic character. The city of Jerusalem obtained a place in the history of the people of Israel when their king David conquered it and brought the Ark of the Covenant from the Shiloh to Jerusalem[152]. The Ark was the symbol of God's presence in the midst of Israel. Later the king Solomon built a glorious temple in Jerusalem[153] and it was dedicated in a solemn ceremony[154] and the Ark of the Covenant was deposited in the inner sanctuary of the temple[155]. As 1Kgs 8:10-11 says, «a cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priest could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord». Thus the Jerusalem temple became the earthly abode of God; as well as the Jerusalem city, the City of God.

Later the temple was destroyed twice in the history, in 587 BC and in 70 AD. After each destruction several lamentations were written on the loss of

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[150] Cf. PS III, $144^{7.14}$(6,2); 745^{21}(25,6), *etc*.

[151] The term 'apocalypse derives from the Greek word ἀποκάλυψις which means revelation. Apocalyptic writings are not belonging to any particular religion or culture. It mainly appears in Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Greek, Latin, Persian, Byzantine, Islamic literature. Mainly two interests can be seen in these genre; the 'eschatological dimension' which shows interest in history and future and the 'mystical dimension' whose interest is in heavenly world. However, the classic apocalypses combine both concerns. For a detailed description and interpretation of apocalyptic genre, cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *La teologia del giudeo-cristianesimo*, Chap. IV, «L'apocalittica giudeo-cristiana», tr. C. Prandi, 171-211; A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology,* 1-20. Later sections can show that the *KM* expresses an apocalyptic character which embraces both eschatological as well as mystical dimensions.

[152] Cf. 2Sam 5:1-12; 6:1-17.

[153] Cf. 1Kgs 6:1-37; 2Chr 3:1-15.

[154] Cf. 2Chr 7:1-7.

[155] Cf. 1Kgs 8:6-9.

Jerusalem temple[156]. Immediately after the destruction of the second temple many apocalypses were written expressing the hope of its restoration. The «New Jerusalem» coming down from the heaven was an expression of such a hope[157]. Thus Israel's national hopes centered on the earthly Jerusalem. The vision of the 'new heavens and new earth' in Isa 65:17-25 presents the culmination of this hope and there it is said that Jerusalem will be created as part of this 'new heavens and new earth'. The Book of Revelation expresses the same hope and speaks about it thrice:

1) Rev 3:12: New Jerusalem which comes down out of heaven from my God.

2) Rev 21:2: And I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God.

3) Rev 21:10: Holy city, Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.

The presentation of 'Jerusalem' in the Book of Revelation differs considerably from that of the *KM*. In the Book of Revelation, Jerusalem is presented as «new (καινή / ܚܕܬܐ)» and its descend from heaven is narrated. At the same time, it should be noted that the author of the *KM* never used the expression «ܐܪܘܫܠܡ ܚܕܬܐ», the Syriac equivalent of «New Jerusalem (ἡ καινή Ἰερουσαλήμ)»[158]. Again, the idea of its descent from heaven is completely absent in the *KM*. Hence the exceptional presence of the imagery of the «heavenly Jerusalem» in the *KM* never negates the possibility that the author followed the ancient Syriac canon which was without the Book of Revelation. After all, the question remains: If it is not from the Book of Revelation, from where did the author receive the expression «heavenly Jerusalem»?

In addition to the idea of «New Jerusalem coming from heaven» some ancient writers witness a different line of thought, a re-orientation of their hope to a pre-existent heavenly City, the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'. This concept of an already present 'Heavenly Jerusalem' is not seen in the OT in a direct way[159]. However, its roots can be traced in OT prophecy of Isa 65:17-25 with its expectations for a New Jerusalem. In certain Rabbinic literature the image of 'Heavenly Jerusalem' is used to express realized

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[156] Out of those Lamentations the 4Esdra and the 2Baruch are important. For a brief study on the nature of the texts from these lamentations those carried the hope as well as desperation, cf. R.L. WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy*, 38-40.

[157] Cf. R.L. WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy*, 41.

[158] Cf. Rev 3:12; 21:2.

[159] For the development of the theme «New Jerusalem» in OT, in later Judaism and in Qumran literature, cf. A.L. LINCOLN, *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 19.

eschatology. They considered 'Jerusalem that is above' as the counterpart of 'Jerusalem below'[160]. It is built on Isa 49:16. Such an attitude is prevalent in the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*:

> Do you think that this is the city about which I said, On the palms of my hands have I engraved you? This building, which now stands in your midst, is not the one that is to be revealed, that is with me now, that was prepared beforehand here at the time when I determined to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned (though when he disobeyed my commandments it was taken away from him, as was also Paradise. And after this I showed it to my servant Abraham by night among the divided pieces of the victims. And again I showed it also to Moses on mount Sinai when I showed him the pattern of the tabernacle and all its vessels. And now it is preserved with me, as is also Paradise[161].

According to the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, the 'City' was built and fashioned by God at the time of creation and existed with Him. God revealed it to his elected ones and thus the 'tabernacle' and all its structures on earth can be made according to the pattern of their reality in the heavenly City. The presentation of the earthly Jerusalem as a counter part of the «heavenly Jerusalem (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ)» is found in Gal 4:26 and Heb 12:22-23. An analysis of these verses is needed[162] to see whether they have any influence on the *KM*.

A) Gal 4:26: But the Jerusalem above is free, she is our mother.

ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἥτις ἐστίν μήτηρ ἡμῶν

The Peshitta follows the exact translation:

ܗܝ ܕܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܚܪܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܐܡ ܗܝ

[160] See *Targum* on Ps 122:3: «Jerusalem that is built in the firmament is like a city that has been joined together on earth», *Targum Psalms: An English Translation*, tr. E.M. Cook, available on-line: [accessed: 15.10.2016], http://targum.info/pss/ps5.htm.

[161] *Apoc. Bar(Syr)*, IV, 1-7, for Syriac text, cf. *Apocalypsis Baruch Syriace*, in A. M. CERIANI, ed., *Sacra et Profana*, V.2, 115-116; *Liber Apocalypseos Baruch*, M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr., PS II, 1072[6-17]; English trans., *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, tr. R.H. Charles – rev. L.H. Brockington, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 842. For a detailed study of the passage quoted, cf. R. NIR, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, 19-41.

[162] Regarding these verses, the *Peshitta* follows the exact translation of the Greek text. Since the author wrote in Syriac and supposed to be used the Syriac translations of biblical books, the analysis is based on the *Peshitta*. As mentioned in the Chap. I, the Syriac MSS of the Acts and the Letters of the Apostles prior to *Peshitta* are not yet discovered.

Here Jerusalem is described with three terms, 1. «above» 2. «free» 3. «mother»[163]. These three terms in Gal 4:26 are important in the context of the *KM*, because they indirectly associates the «Jerusalem above (ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ / (ܐܪܡܫܠܡ ܥܠܝܐ)» with the «heavenly Church» of the *KM*.

1. «above (ἄνω / ܠܥܠ or ܥܠ)»

The term «ἄνω / ܥܠ (above)» is synonymous with heaven. It is evident from the its usage in the Gospel according to John[164]. Hence the expression «Jerusalem above (ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ / (ܐܪܡܫܠܡ ܥܠܝܐ)» is equivalent to «heavenly Jerusalem (ܐܪܡܫܠܡ ܕܫܡܝܐ)». In Gal 4:26 too, its attributive use is equivalent in its connotation to «heavenly (ἐπουράνιος)»[165].

2) «free (ἐλεύθερος / ܚܪܐ)» & 3) the «mother (ἡ μήτηρ / ܐܡܐ)

In the context of the expression in Gal 4:26 it is better to explain the second and third terms together. In Gal 4:26, the Apostle speaks about two women, Sarah and Hagar. He allegorically equates them with two covenants; one from mount Sinai, the 'present Jerusalem' which is represented by Hagar, the slave who was bearing children of slavery through flesh and the other, the 'Jerusalem which is above' from the free woman, the mother of the children of promise. In this context Paul says that «Jerusalem above is free and she is our mother». Immediately in Gal 4:27 the Apostle quotes Isa 54:1. However he never equated the «Jerusalem above» with the Church. Then how did Jerusalem above relate to the Church?

From the beginning of Christianity, Jerusalem played a vital role as the centre of all Christ events and the disciples of Christ first gathered as a Church in Jerusalem. Later 'Jerusalem' became a symbolic expression to denote the Church and it embraced the whole world under its title. The *Second Epistle of Clement* speaks about such an association between the 'Jerusalem' and the 'Church'. In 2*Clem.* II, 1 there is an exegetical passage based on Isa 54:1-2: «Now when he said, "Rejoice o barren woman who

[163] For the decription about the heavenly Jerusalem as mother and about her freedom, cf. A.L. LINCOLN, *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 23-27.

[164] Cf. John 3:31; 8:23; 19:11, *etc*.

[165] Cf. A.L. LINCOLN, *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 9.

bears no children", he spoke of us, for our Church was barren before children where given to it»[166]. As T.A. Bergren notes:

> *2Clement* for the first time clearly and explicitly attests to an exegetical connection between Jerusalem interpreted as a (once barren) mother in the Hebrew scriptures and the Church interpreted as a (once barren) mother in early Christian tradition. Thus exegetically speaking, through an allegorical interpretation of Isa 54:1, a connection between «mother Jerusalem» and the Church has been made, although neither the term «mother Jerusalem» nor «mother church» is explicitly applied to the Church. According to this exegesis, the church is a woman, a mother, whose children are the Christian people. This is the first time in Christian literature where the thematic connections church= woman / mother = Jerusalem have been made[167].

For the *KM* this association is much relevant. The attributions given to Jerusalem, «free» as well as «mother» are used by the author of the *KM* to describe the heavenly Church. He says that the heavenly Church is «free (ܚܪܝܬܐ)»[168] and she is the «mother of all the baptized (ܐܡ ܕܟܠ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ)»[169]. In that way it is easy to infer that for him the heavenly Jerusalem is heavenly Church itself.

The allegorical presentation of two women and hence two covenants in Gal 4:24-26 goes with that of Heb 12:18-24. Both links new covenant with Mount Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem in contrast with old covenant and Mount Sinai[170]. An analysis of the key verses of this passage from the Letter to the Hebrews, *i.e*. Heb 12:22-24 is needed to see this association.

B) Heb 12:22-24a:

> But you have come near to Mountain of Zion, and to the city of the living God, the Jerusalem that in Heaven (ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ), and to the innumerable multitude of angels, and to the church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven and to God the judge of all; and to the spirits of the Just (ܙܕܝܩܐ), who are perfected and to Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant[171].

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[166] CLEMENT OF ROME, *Epistula altera ad Corinthios*: Greek text and English trans., *Second Epistle of Clement*, in M.W. HOLMES, ed. – tr., *The Apostolic Fathers*, 140-141.

[167] T.A. BERGREN, «Mother Jerusalem», 256.

[168] PS III, 288[8-9](12,1): ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܗܝ ܚܝܐ ܕܢܚܐ ܒܗ ܐܢܚܢܢ ܕܢܚܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

«We shall live forever in that free great heavenly Church».

[169] PS III, 292[23](12,2).

[170] Cf. A.L. LINCOLN, *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 16.

[171] Syriac text of Heb 12:22 from *Peshitta*:

In the *KM* it is possible to see almost an exact citation of Heb 12:22-24a in *mēmrā* XV:

> You Perfect ones (ܡܬܚܢܝ) have reached the mountain of Zion and the city of the living God, the Jerusalem that in heaven (ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ) and the camps of the myriads of angels, the Church of the first born who are enrolled in heaven, and God the judge of all, the spirits of the Upright (ܙܕܝܩܐ) who have been perfected, and Jesus the mediator of the New Covenant[172].

It is notable that in the above quoted passage of the *KM* there is a minor alteration from the biblical text. A deliberate attempt is there to insert the author's favorite term «Perfect (ܡܬܚܢܝ)» in the text which is absent in the original biblical text that includes its pairing term «Upright (ܙܕܝܩܐ)». Again there are allusions to Heb 12:22-23 in *mēmrē* 14 and 25:

> With all the saints who have been perfected they have understood and triumphed and ascended to the 'Jerusalem above' (ܠܥܠܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ). The Perfect (ܡܬܚܢܝ) reach Zion and 'Jerusalem which is in heaven' (ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܒܫܡܝܐ) and the spiritual Paradise[173].

> You have reached the mountain of Zion and the City of God in heaven with the Hosts of angels and with the spirits of these former Upright ones (ܙܕܝܩܐ ܡܬܚܢܝ) who have gone to sleep in Uprightness (ܒܙܕܝܩܘ), and were perfected in Jesus[174].

While examining these passages it is clear that the author never tried to keep faithfulness to the biblical text of Heb 12:22-24a. He freely uses these verses to defend his central argument that the «Perfect (ܡܬܚܢܝ)» can dwell with God after their departure from this world. Both the above mentioned passages speak about heavenly Jerusalem, the City of God as the abode of the «Perfect (ܡܬܚܢܝ)». The second text deliberately modify the biblical

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ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܫܪܝ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܘܙܟܘ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ
ܘܠܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܟܢܫܬܐ
ܕܒܟܘܪܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܘܝܫܘܥ ܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܚܕܬܬܐ ❖

[172] PS III, 372[9-15](15,15):

ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܫܪܝ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܘܙܟܘ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܡܬܚܢܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ
ܘܠܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܟܢܫܬܐ
ܕܒܟܘܪܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܘܝܫܘܥ ܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܚܕܬܬܐ ❖

[173] PS III, 329[8-11](14,2):

ܠܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܥܠܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܘܐܬܝܕܥ ܘܙܟܘ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ
ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ❖

[174] PS III, 741[7-11](25,4):

ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܐܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܘܢܕܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ
ܘܥܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܕܐܬܟܡܠܘ ܕܒܙܕܝܩܘ ܫܪܝܪܝܢ ❖

passage to say that even «the former Upright ones (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ)», *i.e.* the Just of the OT can reach this abode only when Jesus perfect them. It is already seen in Chap. II that the Prophets and the former «Upright ones (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ)» of the OT are perfected by the Lord only after their departure from this world in the sight of the Apostles[175]. The Author repeats the same concept here in this passage using the fabricated text of Heb 12:22-24a and says that «these former Upright ones (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ) who have gone to sleep in Uprightness (ܒܫܪܝܪܐ), and were perfected in Jesus». In short, for the author of the *KM*, only the «Perfect» after their departure from this world deserve the right to dwell with the Lord in 'heavenly abode' *i.e.* in «Jerusalem that in Heaven (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)».

In short it is rather clear that the imagery of «Jerusalem that in Heaven (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)» repeated several times in the *KM* goes close with that of Letters 'to the Galatians' and 'to the Hebrews' and not with that of Book of Revelation. It is also notable that the only Pauline Letter that is quoted by the author with the name is that of 'Letter to the Galatians'[176]. Hence acquaintance with the Book of Revelation is not essential for the usage of the imagery of «heavenly Jerusalem». For the author of the *KM* Jerusalem is a *rāzā* of the Church which leads one to an ascend to have its triple gradated experience:

1. Physical and visible experience in Jerusalem, the historical city which became later a synonym of visible Church.

2. The «Jerusalem above», *i.e.* the heavenly abode of the «Perfect» where dwelling with God happens[177]. It is said to be a pre-existing place from where Adam happened to come out[178].

3. Anticipation of that heavenly Jerusalem is possible to those who are in the state of Perfection.

Here not the renewal or replacement of the historical Jerusalem, but a symbolic way of ascend to an already existing heavenly Jerusalem is described. References about a heavenly antitype of tabernacle is there in

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[175] Cf. Chap. II, section «1.1.1 c) *The Perfection: The State of Being the Image of the Apostles*»; PS III, 231^{24}-233^{3}(9,13).

[176] Cf. PS III, 133^{13}(5,18).

[177] Cf. PS III, 329^{8-11}(14,2).

[178] PS III, 608^{12-15}(21,8):

ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܟܐܕܡ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܀

«They will depart from the heavenly Jerusalem, just like Adam from the spiritual Eden, which is the Spiritual Jerusalem, the city of God».

Exod 25:9.40 and Heb 8:5. The *KM* also speaks about it[179]. In short more than a replacement with «New Jerusalem», the author intends to speak about the transformation which happens in each man leading him to access the heavenly Jerusalem which is already there.

3.1.2 Triple Gradated Paradise

The next symbol used for denoting the Church is 'Paradise'(ܦܪܕܝܣܐ)[180]. The term «Paradise» is considered to be of Persian origin. Its Hebrew equivalent is פרדס and Greek, παράδεισος and it literally means a 'park', 'garden', 'a grand enclosure', 'preserve', 'hunting-ground',[181] *etc.* Eventhough the Hebrew OT has this term in its sense of 'park' or 'Garden'[182], the word פרדס is not seen in the story of Adam and Eve in Gen 3-4. However, LXX translated the «Garden of Eden (גן־עדן)» of Gen 2-3 – in which the first parents dwelt before the fall – exclusively and repeatedly with Παράδεισος. Hence, Eden and Paradise got equivalent sense in later tradition[183].

Mainly Judaism, Christianity and Islam share the essential elements of the story of Paradise in their literature. This study mentions only about the first two[184]. From the literal reading of the biblical text, 'Paradise' can be a concept which belongs to the beginning of creation; but through the centuries it received a wide variety of meanings. Jewish and Christian thinkers of early centuries were not unanimous in their opinion about Paradise. The presence of mythological elements made the picture more

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[179] Cf. PS III, 596[6-17](21,4).

[180] For recent studies on Paradise, cf. M. BOCKMUEHL – G.G. STROUMSA, eds., *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views* (It consists of 15 articles on different views on Paradise); G.P. LUTTIKHUIZEN, ed., *Paradise Interpreted* (collection of 12 articles).

[181] Cf. Payne Smith, 458; M. JASTROW, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, II, 1216; C.L.W. GRIMM – C.G. WILKE, *Greek – English Lexicon: Grimm's Wilke's Clavis*, tr. – rv. J.H. Thayer, 480

[182] Cf. Qoh 2:5; Cant 4:13; Neh 2:8.

[183] For its nature of usage in Hebrew and Greek Bible, cf. J.N. BREMMER, «Paradise: from Persia, via Greece, into the Septuagint», 1-20; H.K. MCARTHUR, «Paradise», 655; J. SCHAPER, «The Messiah in the Garden», 17-27.

[184] In several Christian Apocrypha paradise got a central position in discussions about the eschatological life, for a detailed study, cf. O. LEHTIPUU, «Eschatology and the Fate of the Dead», 343-360.

complex[185]. As a polyvalent concept, it is not easy to fix the term 'Paradise' in a particular frame of thought. Until now, it remains in a fluid process of interpretation as G.G. Stroumsa observes:

> Paradise moves back and forth along the axis of time: It can be conceived not only as belonging to the *Urzeit* but also to the *Endzeit*, when it is reclaimed, or even to the present, in realized eschatology. Moreover, paradise is also mobile in space: it is not only located in different places upon earth (a pastime with a very long *Fortleben*), but also seems to circulate freely between earth and heaven[186].

Regarding the term 'Paradise', there are mainly three interrelated and partially overlapping notions are present in early Christian literature and in the writings from late Second Temple and early rabbinic period. They are: a) the biblical Garden of Eden in the creation account of Gen 2-3; b) a temporary abode of righteous awaiting the world to come, possibly in a location on earth[187]; c) the eschatological and quite possibly heavenly home[188] of the world to come[189]. It is also said in these literature that this

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[185] For the real nature of the complexity of theme of paradise, cf. G.G. STROUMSA, «Introduction: The Paradise Chronotrope», 1-14.

[186] G.G. STROUMSA, «Introduction: The Paradise Chronotrope», 1.

[187] *T. Ab.* XX, 18-19: «there came the clear voice of God, the Father saying, : "Take my friend Abraham to Paradise, where are the tents of my righteous ones and the resting-places of my saints"», *The Testament of Abraham*, tr. N. Turner, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 421. The same idea is there in the Book of Enoch (Ethiopic Book of Enoch), cf. 1Enoch LXX, 3 in *Book of Enoch*, tr. M.A. Knibb, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 255.

[188] Cf. V.R. GORDON, «Paradise», 661. The 1Enoch speaks about the Garden of righteousness / life, cf. 1Enoch LX, 24; LXI, 12 in *Book of Enoch*, tr. M.A. Knibb, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 241, 243. In 1Enoch LXX, 4 it is written that «the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the chosen and the righteous. And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning of the world dwelt in that place», *Book of Enoch*, tr. M.A. Knibb, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 255. The *Slavonic Enoch* (*Second Book of Enoch* or the *Secrets of Enoch*), a Jewish work, probably writtern in the first century AD prior to the destruction of the temple, speaks in a clear way about Paradise as an eschatological abode of the righteous: 2Enoch V, 1.9-10: «And the men took me from there and led me up to the heaven and set me in the midst of Paradise... The men answered me, This place, Enoch, is prepared for the righteous... For them is this place prepared as their eternal inheritance», *Second Book of Enoch*, tr. P. Pennington, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 331. The same idea is in Ephrem's 4th *Hymn on Paradise*, where the gathering of the holy ones is presented as a type of Paradise, *HPar* VI, 8[1]: ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܓܢܬ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܟܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ, E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 21.

eschatological blissful state of the righteous (cf. Rev 2:7) can be enjoyed by the elect[190] while living on this world[191]. The third view received more prominence in Christian literature.

For the Christians who considered themselves as *verus Israel*, the story of Adam and Eve in Paradise provided the light for comprehending the saving mission of the incarnated Lord[192]. Christ is revealed as the true Adam who comes to restore Paradise[193]. Hence they believed that OT should be interpreted in the light of NT. Thus, the historical dimension of the tales and figures of OT blurred and received typological meaning. G.G. Strums summarizes this pattern of approach: «As *sacramenta futuri*, the tales and figures of the Old Testament are not to be understood in and by themselves, but should rather be seen as alluding, in veiled form, to the perfect, final expression of revelation in the figure of Jesus Christ»[194]. While the OT provides an eschatological typology, the NT shows how everything has been fulfilled in Christ. Since everything is completed in Jesus Christ, eschatology has lost its weight in the Church. It holds realized eschatology. The recapitulation of first Adam and hence Paradise fully accomplished by Christ is continued in each Christian. This continued fulfillment in each Christian's life begins in baptism and makes one, a «new creation» (cf. Col 3:9-10; Eph 4:24). In this context the comment of J. Daniélou is worthy: «We should no longer be in the realm of typology since the past and the future would be identical. That the question is not of return (*Wiederkehr*) but of a new creation»[195].

Gradually, more than a typological approach with an eschatological hope, Paradise got a symbolic significance regarding «realized eschatology». Jesus promises the good thief, «Today you will be with me in Paradise (cf. Luke 23:43)». As Daniélou says, «This *To-day* is the very essence of Christianity. We have already remarked that for the Bible

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[189] Cf. M. BOCKMUEHL, «Locating Paradise», 195; M. GOODMAN, «Paradise, Gardens, and the Afterlife», 57.

[190] The best example for such an anticipatory experience is that of the Apostle Paul. He says that he was caught up to Paradise and heard things that are not to be told, cf. 2Cor 12:2-4.

[191] Cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 31-32; A. SCAFI, «Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth», 211.

[192] For different views on Paradise prevalent in the early Church, cf. H.S. BENJAMINS, «Paradise in the Early Church», 153-167.

[193] Cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibbred, 17.

[194] G.G. STROUMSA, «Introduction: The Paradise Chronotrope», 8.

[195] J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibbred, 16.

Paradise does not mean the return of a Golden Age, as the pagan religions expected. Neither for Christianity, any more than the Old Testament, is Paradise a future of an indeterminate nature. Paradise is upon us. It is a presence»[196]. For Christian exegetes 'Paradise' prefigured spiritual realities[197]. Thus 'Paradise' is started to be identified with 'Church'[198], 'Kingdom of God'[199], the blissful state of the elect[200], a believer[201], and so on. In this context the openion of Augustine seems worthy to quote:

> I am well aware that many people have written many things about Paradise. There are, however, three generally held openions about this topic; one held by those who think Paradise should only be understood in the literal material sense, another by those for whom only the spiritual sense is true, the third by those who take paradise in each way, differently though in the material, differently in the spiritual sense. So then, in a word, I admit that it is the third openion which I favour[202].

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[196] J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibbred, 16.

[197] Cf. A. SCAFI, «Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth», 12.

[198] Many ancient Christian writers presented Paradise as the Church and the bapism as our entry into this Paradise, cf. IRENAEUS OF LYONS, *Adversus hæreses liber quintus*, X,1 in A. ROUSSEAU – L. DOUTRELEAU – CH. MERCIER, eds., *Contre les heresies. Livre V*, 122-123; in PG 7, 1147; cf. *Ad. Marc.* IV, 4 in AEM, KROYMANN, ed., *Q.S.Fl.Tertulliani. Adversus Marcionem*, 479; in PL 2, 288; METHODIUS, *Symposium*, IX,3 in PG XVIII, 483-484. For the details of this diffused theme in patristic literature, cf. J. BEHR, *Asceticism and Anthropology*, 65-69; J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibbred, 22-29; H.S. BENJAMINS, «Paradise in the Early Church», 153-167.

[199] The best evidence is from the *KM*, Cf. PS III, 348^{27}-349^{1}(15,6); 540^{13}(20,6); 541^{13}(20,6); 617^{2-3}(21,11).

[200] Cf. JEROME, *Letter* CXXV*: To Rustics*, VII in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, tr. W.H. Fremantle, 246.

[201] PS III, 264^{22-23}(10.8):

ܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܒܗܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܒܝ ܐܢܚܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܒܝ

«We could say we are heaven and earth and all that is in them; we are Paradise and Jerusalem». For the patristic allegorization of morality using the imagery of Paradise, cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. W. Hibbred, 62-64.

[202] *Gn. litt.*, VIII,1:

Non ignoro de paradiso multos multa dixisse; tres tamen de hac re quasi generales sunt sententiae. una eorum qui tantummodo corporaliter paradisum intelligi volunt, alia eorum qui spiritaliter tantum, tertia eorum qui utroque modo paradisum accipiunt, alias corporaliter, alias autem spiritaliter. breviter ergo ut dicam, tertiam mihi fateor placere sententiam.

I. ZYCHA, ed., *Sancti Aureli Augustini. De Genesi ad litteram*, 229; in PL 34, col. 371; English trans., *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, tr. E. Hill, 346.

According to A. Scafi, «The complexity of the Jewish and Christian notions of Paradise arise from the fact that the idea of a place of delight symbolizing perfection and happiness not only represented nostalgia for the past, but was also seen as a blessing for the present and a promise for the future»[203]. In short 'past', 'present', and 'future' meet in the imagery of Paradise.

Now it is time to see its usage in the *KM*. The author of the *KM* used many of the traditional interpretations regarding the term. The complexity of the term is evident in its multifaceted usage.

a) He presents Paradise as Garden of the creation account (Gen 2-3):

There are references about Paradise as the place where Adam dwelt[204] before he transgressed the commandments.

b) He equates the primordial Paradise with the eschatological Paradise:

The *KM* uses heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise as identical terms and uses them to refer to the heavenly abode[205]. For the author, Paradise is the 'Kingdom and abode' of the Lord. In the *KM* there is a frequent expression «Paradise of the Kingdom (ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ)»[206]. According to him Adam was departed from Paradise of the Kingdom[207] and God drive him out and closed the door of the Paradise[208]. Again, he speaks about Adam's re-entering into the spiritual Paradise that he left once[209]. Hence, it can be infer that for the *KM* the primordial Paradise is same as the eschatological Paradise. The emphasis on this view can be the result of the influence of the tradition from the *Peshitta*.

According to LXX, Gen 2:8 (Παράδεισος ἐν εδεν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς)» Paradise is placed in the East, because it took ἡ ἀνατολή, to translate the Hebrew term «קדם». The term «קדם» keeps spatial meaning like 'front' or 'east', as well as temporal significance like 'ancient times' or 'beginning'[210]. The Greek equivalent ἡ ἀνατολή kept the spatial meaning

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[203] Cf. A. SCAFI, «Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth», 210-220.

[204] See PS III, 353^{19-20}(15,8). ܐܕܡ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ ܡܢܗ «Adam departed from the Paradise and worked the soil from which he was taken». The same idea can be seen in several other passages, cf. *Ibid*., 37^{16-17}(2,6), 349^{1-4}(15,6), 612^{15-16}(21,10), *etc*.

[205] Cf. PS III, 144^{13}(6,2).

[206] PS III, 348^{27}-349^{1}(15,6); 540^{13}(20,6); 541^{13}(20,6); 617^{2-3}(21,11).

[207] Cf. PS III, 348^{27}(15,6), 353^{19}(15,8), 540^{13}(20,6).

[208] Cf. PS III, 349^{3}(15,6).

[209] Cf. PS III, 760^{1}(26,1), 764^{21-28}(26,4).

[210] For its temporal as well as spatial meanings, cf. F. BROWN – *al*., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 869

like ‘a rising (of the sun and stars)’, ‘the east (the quarter of the sun’s rising)’[211], *etc*., while the temporal significance is vanished. At the same time, the Syriac version *Peshitta* followed the temporal significance and translated the verse as «Paradise in Eden from the beginning (ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܥܕܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ)». Here the expression «ܡܢ ܩܕܡ» means ‘before’, ‘formerly’, ‘from the beginning’[212], *etc*. The spatial connotation of ‘East’ is missing here. S.P. Brock observes that along with *Peshitta*, Palestinian and Babylonian Targumic traditions follow the same line of thought[213]. It can be a reason that in Syriac tradition identification of primordial Paradise with the eschatological Paradise received more emphasis.

c) He affirms that ‘today’ Paradise is accessible to the «Perfect»:

According to the author of the *KM*, Paradise is still accessible. The author says that whoever, therefore wishes to ascend to Paradise let him walk lowly in the steps of our Lord [214]. Again in several occasions he affirms that the «Perfect» can anticipate the Paradise through their mind while living on this world and then after their departure from this world ‘fully’[215]. The author brings the reference to the Pauline experience in 2Cor 12:2-4 as evidence[216].

d) He places the Paradise in heaven:

About the geographical location of Paradise, there are different opinions among the writers[217]. Those who hold the biblical narration literally, placed the Paradise in East[218]. Without entering into more details of this complex issue this study strictly stick on the *KM*’s position. The author stands

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[211] ‘a rising (of the sun and stars)’, ‘the east (the quarter of the sun’s rising)’, cf. C.L.W. GRIMM – C.G. WILKE, *Greek – English Lexicon: Grimm’s Wilke’s Clavis*, tr. – rv. J.H. Thayer, 48.

[212] Cf. Sokoloff, 1315.

[213] See his introduction to the translation of Ephrem’s *Hymns on Paradise*, cf. *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 50-51.

[214] Cf. PS III, 736[17](25,2).

[215] See Chap. II, section «1.1.3 a) *A State of Fulfilment*».

[216] PS III, 709[12-14](23,10):

ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܕܡ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܘܠܗ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܣܩ ܥܠ ܣܡܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ∶

«Spiritual Paradise from which Adam had departed to which Paul lifted up above the third heaven»; idea repeats in *Ibid.*, 596[18-19](21,4): ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܥܠ ܣܡܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ «above the third heaven to the spiritual paradise».

[217] For the problem regarding the location of Paradise, cf. M. BOCKMUEHL, «Locating Paradise», 192-209.

[218] *Jub.* VIII,16: «It extends eastwards as far as the garden of Eden», in *Jubilees*, tr. R.H. Charles – rev. C. Rabin, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 37.

distinct from Ephrem who narrated even the minute topographical details regarding Paradise[219]. It is very hard to comprehend his viewpoint regarding the position of Paradise. He speaks not much about it and not following any consistency in his opinions.

According to his symbolic interpretation, there are two Paradises, earthly as well as heavenly. For him heavenly Paradise is «spiritual Paradise». The detailed study regarding this symbolic interpretation is in the immediate section. Here the focus is on three major remarks of the author regarding the position of Paradise.

The author places the 'Paradise', more precisely 'Spiritual paradise' somewhere in heaven[220]. It is said in one place that Paradise is «above the heaven (ܫܡܝܐ ܥܠ ܓܢܬ)»[221] and in one instance, referring to the Pauline expression in 2Cor 12:2-4, the author makes a remark: «Spiritual Paradise from which Adam had departed to which Paul lifted up above the third heaven»[222]. In a third occasion, the author quoted liberally 2Cor 12:2-4 and says: «As Paul said: "I know a man who was carried away above the third heaven to the spiritual Paradise"»[223]. Here an alteration of biblical text is notable. In 2Cor 12:2-4 Paradise is never placed in «above the third heaven».

Paul's visionary flight to the third heaven that carried him to Paradise in 2Cor 12:2-4 reflects the genre of heavenly ascent within the Second Temple Jewish[224] and later Christian Apocalyptic literature[225]. From the biblical passage it is not very clear whether Paul speaks about two ascents

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[219] Ephrem in his *Hymns on Paradise* presents the details of Paradise. For him Paradise is like a mountain, temple, Church, tripartite human person, *etc*. More more details, cf. N. SED, «Les hymnes sur le Paradis», 455-501; E. VERGANI, «Efrem il Siro: Chiesa e paradiso», 71-104; *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 52-66.

[220] For the details of different apocalyptic literature those place the Paradise in heaven, cf. A. HILHORST, «Apocalypse of Paul», 136-139.

[221] Cf. PS III, 37^{15}(2,6).

[222] PS III, $709^{12\text{-}14}$(23,10):

ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܓܢܬ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܣܠܩ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܓܢܬ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ

[223] PS III, $596^{17\text{-}19}$(21,4):

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܚܛܦ ܥܕ ܫܡܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܘܥܕ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ

[224] The 2Enoch presents the Paradise in third heaven, 2Enoch V, 1: «And the men took me from there and led me up to the third heaven, and set me in the midst of Paradise», cf. *Second Book of Enoch*, tr. A. Pennington, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 331.

[225] The apocryphal *Apocalypse of Paul* seems to be inspired by 2Cor 12:2-4, cf. *Apocalypse of Paul*, in M.R. JAMES, ed. – tr., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 525-555; A. HILHORST, «Apocalypse of Paul», 128-139.

or one ascent in two stages or one ascent narrated in two ways. In verse 2, Paul describes how he was caught «up to (ἕως)» to the third heaven and in verse 4, how he was caught «into (εἰς)» Paradise. If it is one ascent with two successive stages, initial catching may be to the outside of third heaven and the second one «into» Paradise, a specific area within it[226]. Since Paul hesitates to describe the topographical details of the venue where he received this experience it is not easy to reach at a conclusion whether he equated Paradise with third heaven or places it above.

However the author of the *KM* alterated the Pauline verses and placed Paradise «above the third heaven». That means according to him the number of heavens are more than three. It is not easy to say a reason why the *KM* places it «above the third heaven». According to A. Kowalski there is no need to take this expression literally; it can be the author's style of superlative expression[227]. Since in many instances the author of the *KM* simply identifies heaven with Paradise[228] his opinion is relevant. At the same time there can be other reasons too.

In several Jewish-Christian writings there exist the idea of multiple heavens, mainly 'three' and 'seven'. It is a well known fact that the term that refers to 'heaven' in major semitic languages like Hebrew (שמים), Syriac (ܫܡܝܐ), *etc*., is plural. Even then, the ancient Israel was not familiar with the idea of many heavenly spheres. However, the Babylonian cosmology made use of variable number of heavens, and according to A.Y. Collins, an echo of their Babylonian contact can be there in the later interpretation of the biblical phrase «heaven of heavens (שמי השמים)»[229], a phrase that implies the existence of at least three heavens[230]. The notion of 'three heavens' seen in the later biblical as well as apocalyptic tradition

[226] Cf. G. MACASKILL, «Paradise in the New Testament», 67-71.

[227] «L'espressione «al di sopra del cielo» gli serviva per sottolineare il carattere «sopraceleste» del paradiso, così come anche la «perfezione» stessa è per lui sopraceleste: «poiché la perfezione è al di sopra del cielo (l-'el men šmayyâ) e la giustizia è di sotto (l-taḥt sulla terra» (25,9 col.753,9-10). Nelle frasi citate l'espressione «al di sopra» potrebbe essere considerata piutosto un modo di esprimere il superlativo, anziché una precisa indicazione topografica», A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 94.

[228] For the author of the *KM*, the doors of Paradise is the doors of Heaven itself. It is clear in PS III, 617[11-12](21,12): ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܬܪܥ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܫܡܝܐ «God closed the doors of Paradise before him, that is the doors of the Heaven». Descend from heaven is equated with descend from heavenly Paradise, cf. *Ibid*., 612[12-17](21,10).

[229] Cf. Gen 28:12; Deut 10:14; 1Kgs 8:27, *etc*.

[230] Cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 23-24.

may be an inner Jewish development based perhaps on a reading of «heaven of heavens (שמי השמים)». J. Daniélou says that the later development of «seven heavens»[231] seen only in Jewish-Christian texts like the *Ascension of Isaiah*[232], the *Second Book of Enoch*[233], the *Testament of Levi*[234], *etc*., is surely the influence of different oriental as well as Iranian-babylonian traditions those derive from several myths and magical thoughts in which number '7' got a vital role[235]. From the deliberate alteration of 2Cor 12:2-4, it can be assumed that the author of the *KM* goes more close with those who hold the notion of «seven heavens».

d) He presents dual Paradise as a Symbol:

In the *KM*, Paradise is always placed in contrast with the Earth or this visible world. It is already seen in the last chapter how the author describes the state of «Perfection» through symbols and metaphors. Hence more than a *locus*, Paradise can be a symbolic expression of the state of «Perfection»; a spiritual attitude. The heavenly Paradise sometimes described as «spiritual Paradise»[236] also supports this view. It can be clearer through the analysis of the passages given below with author's view on dual Paradise; the «heavenly Paradise (ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܠܝܐ)» and the «earthly Paradise (ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܬܚܬܝܐ)»:

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[231] For more details of the development of «seven heavens» in Jewish and Christian writings, cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, Chap. II, «The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses», 21-54; DANIÉLOU, *La teologia del giudeo-cristianesimo*, 172-180.

[232] The *Ascens. Is.*, narrates about seven heavens in Chaps. VI-XI, cf. *Ascension of Isaiah*, tr. R.H. Charles – rev. J.M.T. Barton, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 794-812; for details about the depiction of seven heavens in this work, cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 39-42; J. DANIÉLOU, *La teologia del giudeo-cristianesimo*, 173.

[233] According to this work, Enoch experienced an ascent to heaven when he was 365 years old and led through seven heavens by two angels, cf. *Second book of Enoch*, tr. A. Pennington, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 321-362; for more details about the notion of «seven heavens» in this work, cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 36-39; J. DANIÉLOU, *La teologia del giudeo-cristianesimo*, 172-173.

[234] The *Testament of Levi*, included in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, speaks about seven heavens in the account of Levi's ascent into heaven in chapters II and III, cf. *Testament of Levi*, tr. M.De Jonge, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 526-527.

[235] Cf. A.Y. COLLINS, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 29.

[236] Cf. PS III, 37^{22}(2,7); 329^{11}(14,2); 596^{19}(21,4); 709^{12}(23,10); 764^{18}(26,4); 804^{10}(28,11).

> They decided and descended from heavenly Paradise that is the 'Perfect prototype' (ܦܪܘܛܘܛܝܦ ܕܦܪܕܝܣ), and lived on Earth that is the 'type' (ܛܘܦܣ) of what is invisible to the bodily eyes; that is the shadow of that heavenly Paradise. Adam descended and stood in the earthly Paradise that is the shadow of heaven[237].
>
> The evil one has made a person run away from heavenly matters and beset him with the toil of Uprightness and he has acquired gardens and earthly Paradises, properties and buildings[238].

From these passages it can be infer that the author presents the Paradise as a *rāzā* parallel with many other symbols that he used[239]. Again there is a notable phrase in the *KM*: «We could say we are heaven and earth and all that is in them; we are Paradise and Jerusalem»[240]. So it is easy to understand that for the author this term is a «symbol» rather than a place. Hence like any other «*rāzā*» it provides a triple gradated experience as «earthly Paradise», «heavenly Paradise», and an anticipation of «heavenly Paradise» by the «Perfect» through their mind. In that way, it is right to infer that the author uses «Paradise» as a symbol to describe the state of «Uprightness», «Perfection» and «beyond Perfection».

Even though, Paradise is equated with the 'Church' in many early Christian writings[241] such an association is missing in the *KM*. In Gen 3:8 it is mentioned that God walked through the Garden. Hence the «garden of Eden», *i.e.* the «Paradise» was the dwelling place of God in the midst of the first parents. In the context of our study it can be considered as a «*hayklā*» or «*ēdtā*». It is seen that for the author Paradise and Jerusalem are

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[237] PS III, 612[15-21](21,10):
ܡܫܟܢ ܟܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܀ ܦܪܘܛܘܛܝܦ ܕܦܪܕܝܣ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀

[238] PS III, 748[1-3](25,6):
ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܒܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀

[239] See the table given in this Chapter under the section «1.2.4 *Rāzā*: An Instrument of Divine Pedagogy».

[240] PS III, 264[22-23](10.8):
ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ,ܡܫܟܢ ܀

[241] In *Hymns on Paradise*, Ephrem equated Paradise with the Church,

HPar VI, 7[1]: ܕܒܢܐ ܫܦܝܪ / ܒܢܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܕܟܝ «God planted the fair Garden / He built the pure Church», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 21; *HPar* VI, 8[1]: «ܟܢܫܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܗ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܢ (The assembly of the saints is in type of Paradise)», *Ibid*., 21. F. Ledegang in his study on Origen presents a list of ancient writers those equated Paradise with the Church, cf. F. LEDEGANG, *Mysterium Ecclesiae*, 366-367.

synonyms and refers to the dwelling place of God. Again there is a spiritual interpretation that «we are Paradise and Jerusalem (ܫܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܢܚܢ)». From all these it is ovious that the author presents the imagery of Paradise in an exact way of the usage of Church, the abode of God. The transformation of «earthly Paradise» to «heavenly Paradise» does not happen in successive chronological time. It happens when a person achieves the «Perfection».

3.1.3 Triple Gradated Eden

The next imagery, the «Eden» is close to that of «Paradise». It is described in Gen 2:8 as the area where God planted a garden of trees to form the first dwelling place of Adam and Eve[242]. As it is mentioned already the LXX derived the word from the Hebrew verb «עדן, to delight» and translated the «גן־עדן Garden of Eden» as Παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς, *i.e*. the «Garden of delight»[243]. This is the reason behind the traditional identification of Eden with Paradise[244].

In the *KM*, «Eden» is never equated directly with the Holy Church as it is seen in the *Cave of Treasures*[245]. In its Chapter III, it is written that «Eden is the type of true Church»[246]. For the author of the *KM* 'Eden' is a symbol to speak about the dwelling place of the «Perfect». Eventhough both the terms «Paradise» and «Eden» are described almost in a similar way, the direct identification between them is not explicit. Just like

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[242] גן־בעדן / Παράδεισος ἐν εδεν

[243] Cf. E. NOORT, «Gan-Eden in the Context of the Mythology», 21; see section «3.1.2 Triple Gradated Paradise» of this Chapter.

[244] Cf. B.S. CHILDS, «Eden, Garden of», 22.

[245] The *Cave of Treasures* from an anonymous author contains a re-narration of the biblical history from creation of the world. It is falsely attributed to Ephrem. But the new scholars say that it cannot be composed before 5th cent. It was written in Syriac and circulated through different translations and versions. For its critical edition consists of two parallel versions from Oriental (R.Or.) and Occidental (R.Oc.) MSS with French trans., cf. A. SU-MIN RI, ed., *La caverne*. There is an old English translation, cf. *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, tr. E.A. Wallis Budge. For a brief description of this work, cf. C. LEONHARD, «Cave of Treasures *M'arrat Gazze*», 90-91. For the bibliographical details of the different existing versions, cf. A. SU-MIN RI, ed., *La caverne*, XXIV-XXVI.

[246] R.Or. (Ch. III) 17: ܫܒܥ ܫܒܝܠ ܫܦܝܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܝ ܒܝ, A. SU-MIN RI, ed., *La caverne*, 26. In its parallel Occidental MS Eden is equated with the Church. R. Oc. (Ch.III)17: «ܡܕܥܕ ܫܒܝܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܝ (Eden is the Holy Church)», *Ibid*., 27. Same idea is repeating in R.Or. (Ch. III) 21 and In R.Oc. (Ch. III) 21, *Ibid*., 27.

Paradise, «Eden» too stands with three stages. It is presented as the «garden» of the Book of Genesis where Adam and Eve lived[247]. At the same time it is equated with the «Heavenly Jerusalem (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ)» where the Perfect should live with God[248]. It is already seen that for the author of the *KM* the primordial state is same as the eschatological state. Eden is again presented as the «House of life of salvation» of the Perfect[249]. The author makes it clear that the perfect can anticipate the eschatological life of Eden even now while living on the earth[250].

3.1.4 Triple Gradated Kingdom

The next imagery under consideration is «Kingdom (ܡܠܟܘܬܐ)». The «Kingdom» is presented as the reality which is promised to us[251]. Like Paradise, the «Kingdom» is also enjoyed by Adam before his sin. Many times the *KM* says that the Adam departed from the «Paradise of the Kingdom (ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ)»[252]. The author probably stands unique among other Syriac writers by equating Kingdom with Paradise[253]. According to him, the Lord is the King and hence the Kingdom belongs to Him. In one place, Lord Jesus is called «our King and our Glory, our Crown and our Kingdom»[254]. Again, Kingdom is equated with the «bridal chamber (ܚܕܪܐ)»[255]. The kingship of Adam which was a favourite theme of many

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[247] PS III, 608[12-15](21,8):
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣ ܪܘܚܢܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܗܝ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ⁘

«They will depart from the heavenly Jerusalem just like Adam from the spiritual Eden, which is the spiritual Jerusalem, the city of God».

Ibid., 856[26](29,19): ܐܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ «The tree of life of the Garden of Eden».

[248] PS III, 328[18-19](14,2): ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܒܦܪܕܝܣ ܘܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ

«The Perfect live with Our Lord in Eden and in Heavenly Jerusalem».

[249] The author says that the «Perfect» «will enter Eden, the house of his salvation, PS III, 540[9-10](20,6): ܒܝܬ ܚܝܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣ ܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܥܘܠ

[250] PS III, 144[5-7](6,2): ܕܐܦ ܒܓܘ̈ܫܡܐ ܕܥܡ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܡܬܗܠܟ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ

«While standing in the body on earth, his mind daily dwells in Eden in the Spirit».

[251] PS III, 168[25-26](7,13); 169[15-16](7,13): ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ

[252] PS III, 348[27]-349[1](15,6); 540[13](20,6); 541[13](20,6); 617[2-3](21,11).

[253] Cf. R. TERZOLI, *Beatitudine*, 172; A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 97.

[254] PS III, 568[24]-569[1](20,14): ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܢ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܟܠܝܠ ܕܝܩܪ ܐܦ ܟܠܝܠ

[255] PS III, 540[15-16](20,6): ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܚܕܪܐ

Syriac writers[256] is completely absent in the *KM*[257]. It is interesting that in the *KM*, the blessing of God given to man in Gen 1:28 to subdue this world is put in the mouth of Satan[258]. For the author Adam should be humble not powerful to attain «Perfection». The King is no one else but always God. When the first man challenged the power of God, it resulted in the departure of man from God's Kingdom.

The author speaks about the possibility open to all to re-enter there. While speaking about the Kingdom in the context of Matt 25:40 he presents its inheritance to both the «Upright» and the «Perfect» with qualitative difference[259]. The «Kingdom of God (ܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ)»[260] and «salvation or life (ܚܝܐ)» are denied for those who perform «works of flesh (ܥܒܕܐ ܕܒܣܪ)»[261]. For the author the Kingdom was there at the very beginning and from there Adam was expelled. There is a textual evidence for its presence before the advent of Christ: «Before the advent of Our Lord, the Kingdom of Heaven was difficult because it was not revealed to everybody... Today, however it is revealed to all who love him»[262]. For the present generation it is revealed and they can inherit it in Eschatology if they achieve «Perfection». Hence it is quite right to consider the term «Kingdom» as an imagery used by the author to describe the state of the Perfect and hence a synonym of the Church. A. Kowalski supports this view:

> Il concetto del regno già nell'insegnamento di Gesù veniva visto nella prospettiva di «già e non ancora». Si accordava quindi molto bene con la

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[256] *HPar* XIII, 3[2]:

ܟ ܥܒܕ ܒܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢ ܛܝܪܐ ܐܬܒܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ / ܡܫܟܒܐ ܕܬܘܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ

«Glorious garden, a bridal chamber of chastity / He gave to that king fashioned from the dust», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 55. For the detailed narration of royal office of Adam in Ephrem, cf. T. KRONHOLM, *Motifs from Genesis*, 75-76. In the *Cave of Treasures* too Adam was called the King. In this work in the edition of Occidental MS, R.Oc. (Ch. II) 22-23 it is written that: ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܗܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܗܢܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ «He (God) said to Adam, behold I have made you King, Priest and Prophet», A. SU-MIN RI, ed., *La caverne*, 19.21. The passage is absent in Oriental version.

[257] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 a) + Free of Earthly Passions».

[258] Cf. PS III, 609[5-8](21,9).

[259] PS III, 49[1-27](3,2-3).

[260] PS III, 53[14](3,4).

[261] PS III, 53[15](3,4).

[262] PS III, 353[2-5.7-8](15,7):

ܐܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܘ ,ܡܢ ܕܐܬܒܥ ܡܫܟܚܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ❖ ... ܗܘ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܒ ܠܟ ❖

visuale del nostro autore riguardo alla situazione dei «perfetti» che anticipano sulla terra il paradiso escatologico. Essendo poi il paradiso genesiaco nel LGr identico a quello dei «perfetti», cioè escatologico, ma attualmente anticipato, anche il primo poteva essere chiamato «regno»[263].

3.1.5 Triple Gradated Zion

The next imagery taken from the human history is «Zion» and it is close to «Jerusalem». The Mount Zion is a mountain in Jerusalem with two heads; One was Moriah where the Temple was built and the other was the palace and habitation of the kings of the House of David. This historical place became a symbolic term and played a vital role in both OT and NT[264]. This term first appears in the context of the conquest of Jerusalem by King David[265]. He conquered the «stronghold of Zion» and established his royal residence there. Thus the expression «City of David» gradually substituted the name «Zion». We could see that the Ark of the Covenant was transferred from the city of David to the temple built by Solomon[266]. It caused the extension of the name Zion to the Temple area. Gradually there happened a topographical equivalence of Zion-Temple[267]. Thus Zion became known as the sacred abode of Israel's Lord[268]. Sometimes Mount Zion and Jerusalem are named together[269]. The earthly Zion - the City of the kings, started to represent the City of the living God and Jerusalem in heaven[270]. In the Bible there are several references to Jerusalem and Zion as «City of Our Lord»[271]. The presence of the imagery of the «City (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ)» in the *KM* is notable. The author calls the dwelling place of the Perfect as «City of Life (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܚܝܐ)»[272], «Holy City (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[273], «City of

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[263] A. KOWALSKI, *Perfezione e giustizia*, 99.

[264] For the biblical interpretation of «Zion», cf. A. F. RAINEY, «Zion», 1198-1200.

[265] 1Sam 5:6-10; 1Chr 11:4-9.

[266] 1Kgs 8:1; 2Chr 5:2.

[267] G.A. BARROIS, «Zion», 959. In the *Book of Jubilees* the hill on which the temple stood is presented as «Mount Zion», cf. *Jub.* IV, 26; VIII, 19; XVIII, 13 *etc*., in *Book of Jubilees*, tr. R.H. Charles, in H.F.D. SPARKS, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 24.38.63.

[268] Cf. Ps 9:11; 74:2; Isa 8:18; 18:7 *etc*.

[269] Cf. Isa 10:12; 24:23; Joel 2:32.

[270] The glorification of the believing community shall take place on Mount Zion. Zion becomes equivalent to heavenly Jerusalem, cf. Isa 60:14; Heb 12:22; Rev 14:1.

[271] Cf. Ps 48:1.8; Isa 60:14; Dan 9:19; Matt 5:35, *etc*.

[272] PS III, 144^{21}(6,2).

[273] PS III, 212^{24}(9,4).

the Perfect (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ)»[274], «City of the Living God (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ)»[275], «Heavenly City (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ)»[276], «Hidden City (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܟܣܝܐ)»[277], «City of Our Lord (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܪܢ)»[278], «City of our King (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܠܟܢ)»[279], «City of Saints (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[280], «City of great rest (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܢܝܚܐ ܪܒܐ)»[281], «Great City (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܪܒܬܐ)»[282], «Spiritual City (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ)»[283], «City of Lord's Glory (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ)»[284] *etc*.

In the *KM* the imagery of 'City' is used as a synonymic term of «Zion». The NT writers always referred to Zion only in quotations from the OT[285]. The expression «Mount Zion» appears twice in the NT; in Heb 12:22-24 and in Rev 14:1. The *KM* uses the term «Zion» three times as the abode of the «Perfect». All the three references are either the citations of or the allusions to Heb 12:22-24[286].

Since the author cites three times Heb 12:22-24[287], it is necessary to see the context of this passage in the Letter to the Hebrews. Here Mount Zion is a place in contrast with Mount Sinai where in the midst of fear and smoke Moses received the Law and from Mount Zion we received the Gospel. This passage provides a 'spiritual' or more precisely a 'symbolic' usage of the term Zion. H.W. William makes a relevant comment on it:

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[274] PS III, 328[17](14,2).

[275] PS III, 372[10](15,15); 608[15](21,8); 741[8](25,4).

[276] PS III, 429[15](17,9).

[277] PS III, 448[17](19,1).

[278] PS III, 532[14.21.24](20,3); 537[13](20,5); 581[13-14](20,17). There are several passage using the imagery of city, *Ibid*., 449[1](19,1): «ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܡ (with Lord in His City)»; *Ibid*., 293[15](12,3): «ܡܕܝܢܬ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܠܟܢ (City of Jesus our King)», *Ibid*., 445[3](19,1), 529[22](20,3): «ܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ (City of Lord Jesus)».

[279] PS III, 445[5](19,1); 521[24](19,39); 524[18](19,40.

[280] PS III, 449[3](19,1); 468[13](19,8); 512[20](19,35); 521[20](19,39); 524[22](19,40); 869[7](30,3); 512[3-5](19,34): ❊ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܠܟܗ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ

«City in which saints dwell with Our Lord Jesus King of Glory».

[281] PS III, 456[8](19,4).

[282] PS III, 461[10](19,6); 524[18](19,40).

[283] PS III, 520[12](19,38).

[284] PS III, 569[19](20,15).

[285] Matt 21:5, John 12:15 in connection with Zech 9:9. Rom 9:33 and 1Pet 2:6 related to Isa 28:16 and Rom 11:26 related to Isa 59:20.

[286] All these three reference are already seen under the section «3.1.1 Triple Gradated Jerusalem» of this Chapter.

[287] For Patristic interpretation of this passage Cf. E. M. HEEN – P.D.W. KERY, *Hebrews*, 223-224.

> His words points to the Gospel-Church, - to the Kingdom of God as it is now established through the perfect work of Christ. That Church is one, whether its members are in heaven or in earth. Some of the subjects of that Kingdom have already passed to glory... but others are still below, in a state of trial and conflict. But all belong to the City of the living God[288].

Eusebius of Caesarea comments on Heb 12:22-24 in *Demonstratio Evangelica* stressing on this symbolic aspect which is much significant in the context of present study:

> Zion might also mean the Church established by Christ in every part of the world, and Jerusalem the holy constitution that, once established of old time among the ancient Jews alone, was driven into the wilderness by their impiety and then again was restored far better than before through the coming of our Savior… would you be wrong in calling Zion the soul of every holy and godly person, so far as it is lifted above this life, having its city in heaven, seeing the things beyond the world. For it means 'a watchtower' and insofar such a person remains calm and free from passion, you could call that one Jerusalem – for Jerusalem means 'vision of peace'[289].

In *Contra Celsum* commenting on the same passage Origen identifies the promised land and the land described in Heb 12:22 and places it in heavenly Jerusalem:

> If, therefore, the whole earth itself was cursed by the works of Adam and those who died in him, obviously all its part salso share in the curse, among which i salso the land of Judaea. Consequently, the words 'to a land good and large, flowing with milk and honey' cannot be made to refer to it, even if Judaea and Jerusalem are shown to be a symbolical shadow of the pure land which is good and large and lies in a pure heaven, in which is the heavenly Jerusalem. The apostle discusses this land, as one who is risen with Christ who seeks the things that are above and has found a meaning not contained by any Jewish mythological interpretation, when he says 'But you have come to mount Sion and to the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God, and to an innumerable company of angels[290].

By quoting Heb 12:22-24, the *KM* places the «mountain of Zion (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܨܝܘܢ)», the «City of the living God (ܩܪܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ)», the

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[288] H.W. WILLIAMS, *An Exposition to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 394-395.

[289] *Dem. ev.* VI, 24 in EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, English trans., *The Proof of the Gospel*, II, tr. W.J. Ferrar, 45-46.

[290] *Cels*. VII, 29, cf. ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, in PG, 11, 1461; English trans., *Contra Celsum*, H. Chadwick, tr., 418.

«Jerusalem in heaven (ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)» and the «camps of the magnitudes of angels (ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ)», the «Church of the first born (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܟܪܐ)»; all as the destination of the «Perfect». All these terminologies sound like synonyms. Hence it is possible to infer that Zion as the abode of the «Perfect» becomes a spiritual metaphor which in turn represents the «Church», or the «Kingdom of God» established by Christ.

It is seen that the author used several imageries to explain the subjective triple gradated experience with in the Church. Now the rest of this study focus on how the author direcly presents the Church in three grades, about which he already explained through several images.

3.2 *The Visible Church*

The visible Church refers to the level of the Church which is revealed to all[291]. The author of the *KM* uses three terminologies to express the Church at this level: a) Church that is visible (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܚܙܝܬܐ)[292]; b) revealed Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܓܠܝܐ)[293]; c) the Church that on Earth (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܐܪܥܐ)[294]. The final expression is rather clear. The first two expressions with the terms ܚܙܝܬܐ and ܓܠܝܐ are significant and reveal two aspects of the Church as a *rāzā*. The first term ܚܙܝܬܐ which means 'visible' derives from the verb «ܚܙܐ»[295]. The «Church on Earth» as an image of the heavenly Church contains external elements and a visible ministry those can be seen with the physical eyes of the faithful. At the same time the Heavenly Church is somehow hidden within it. The familiar term «ܓܠܝܐ»[296] associated with the Church affirms the fact that the visible Church is revealing the hidden heavenly Church. The Church at this level is there to initiate everybody to the divine mystery. The role of the visibility of this physical world – which is treated in the Chapter III – is applicable to the Church too at its visible level[297]. The author of the *KM* gave much emphasis to the necessity of the visible level of the Church. No one can skip this level to reach at the higher levels. Only through this visible Church, can one foster the «Church of the heart» and reach at the «Church

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[291] Cf. PS III, 292[1-2](12,2).
[292] PS III, 289[1](12,2); 296[17](12,4).
[293] PS III, 289[15](12,2).
[294] PS III, 292[16](12,2).
[295] It means 'to see', cf. Sokoloff, 438.
[296] See section «2.2.5 *'Ēdtā*: A *Rāzā*», of this Chapter.
[297] See Chap. III, section «1.4.1 The «ܒܝܬܐ» and the Visibility».

of the Heaven»[298]. The diligence in the visible Church primarily demands physical participation or in other words the involvement of the body. Strict warnings can be seen in the *KM* against those who try to skip their duties in the Church at its visible level. In one context the *KM* makes it clear that «if somebody separates himself and ministers at the mountain (ܛܘܪܐ ܥܒܕ), he becomes guilty or goes wrong»[299]. About the historical reasons behind this remark, the scholars have different opinions. According to Vööbus, at that time in the *KM* community there were persons, who might have been monks, who actually separated themselves from the visible Church and served on mountains[300]. S.P. Brock and R. Murray consider it as a reference to Judaizers[301]. Brock bases his opinion on John 4:21, while Murray on Heb13:10[302]. However, it can also be against the Messalians who separated themselves from the Church and led a personal spiritual life[303]. In a different occasion, the author speaks against a natural tendency among the faithful to spiritualize things and to skip from the physical efforts in various ascetical practices. His sarcastic remark is notable: «If we desire to skip from prayer we dispute the words, "In our heart let us please Our Lord". If we wish not to be diligent for the Church, we dispute the words, "our heart is a church"»[304]. According to the *KM*, this compartmentalization is not possible. The person in his totality should be there. The author is sure about the fact that no one can accomplish righteousness with his heart without accomplishing it with his body, because from the fullness of the heart the

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[298] Cf. PS III, 288[3-10](12,1); 288[20]-289[5](12,2); 289[14-26](12,2); 296[8-10.17-22](12,4).

[299] PS III, 296[18-20](12,4):

ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܛܘܪܐ ܥܒܕ ܘܫܚ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܠܡ ❖

The same idea can be seen in PS III, 261[17-22](10,7). One who considers his heart as a Church should not think that God does not desire these visible things. The author warns that Evil teaches all these. It can be considered as an exhortation to integrate body and heart, *i.e*. visible and invisible.

[300] Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism*, I, 182.

[301] They are the Christians who claim the necessity of obedience to the Mosaic Laws and stood for the literal interpretation of the Scripture. For further details cf. S.J.D. COHEN, «Judaizing», 847-848.

[302] Cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 61; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 266.

[303] It is seen in the first chapter that there existed an accusation against the *KM* as a Messalian text and the study showed that the *KM* community shared a common milieu with such groups, cf. Chap. I, section «3.1 Messalianism».

[304] PS III, 261[14-17](10,7):

ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܕܢܨܠܝ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܒܠܒܢ ܢܥܒܕ ܛܒܬ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܒܢ ܫܠܡ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܒܢ ܫܠܡ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܕܠܒܢ ܥܕܬܐ ❖

body moves[305]. In the Chapter III, it is already mentioned about the need of the harmony between «body» and «soul» or the agreement between «inner man» and the «outer man»[306]. The same exhortation is reflected here regarding the harmony that should be maintained between the visible level of the Church and that of the heart. In this context, the intended harmony cannot be an external one which is expected to be found in the Church — which is always one — but within a Person who experiences the Church. Since the «Church on Earth» is a revealed symbol of that in Heaven it is good to see how the author depicts it. Only through the «visible Church» the comprehension of the nature of that «Church in heaven» is possible. Hence, a detailed analysis of the visible level of the Church is needed for the completion of this study.

3.2.1 Church Architecture

The concept of the «Church on earth» or the «visible Church» primarily focuses on the «church», itself *i.e.* the building consecrated as the «abode of God» where the people gather for worship. This theme is already dealt in the section 2.2.1. The *KM* does not provide any detailed architectural narration of the church building. As already mentioned, whenever the author speaks about the church he uses two terms in pair *i.e.* the *hayklā* and the *madbḥā*. These terms can throw some light on the structure of the building. Instead of their general meaning as «temple» and «altar» they can have technical sense derived from the East Syriac architectural tradition[307] as there exists three major parts inside an East Syriac church, *viz*., *hayklā, madbḥā*, and «ܩܕܫܬܪܡܐ / *qesṭrōmā*»[308]. Since the author never mentioned the details about any of these internal divisions, it is not possible to say anything more about it. However it is noteworthy that he was very precise to use the word *hayklā* while speaking about the body of a person as the abode of God. The discussion about it can be in the section the «Church of the Heart».

It is a well known fact that in biblical[309] as well as in Patristic traditions the ‘Sun’ which dawns in the East is an image of the Eternal Sun, the

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[305] Cf. PS III, 264[1-9](10,8).

[306] See Chap. III section «1.2 Tripartite Man and Human Integrity».

[307] There are several studies about the architectural evolution and theological significances of the Mesopotamian church building, cf. U.M. DE VILLARD, *Le Chiese della Mesopotamia*, 9-95; P. MANIYATTU, *Heaven on Earth*, 149-184.

[308] «The base or raised floor of the altar, a chancel, steps», *etc*., Payne Smith, 511.

[309] Cf. Luke 1:78; Matt 17:2; John 1:9; 18:12; Rev 1:16, *etc*.

Christ, and hence traditionally Christians prefer to pray facing towards the East and they construct churches facing the East[310]. The Christological significance of the Sun is explicit in the writings of the ancient Christian writers like Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150-215)[311], Tertullian (*c.* 155-240)[312], Augustine[313], *et al.* It is true that in the *KM* there are no references about the orientation towards the East during prayer or detailing regarding the construction of the churches facing the East. However, the author speaks about the Christological significance of the Sun and for him the Sun which shines upon this visible Church is an image of Christ, the Eternal Sun:

> Blessed is he whoever has entered that heavenly Church upon which Our Lord shines openly, just as this visible sun shines upon this visible church and upon these temples of the body[314].

3.2.2 The Liturgical Practices

The visible Church is a place of worship. A close reading of the whole text of the *KM* gathers some scattered information regarding the liturgical celebration in the *KM* community[315].

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[310] About the origin and development of early Christian practise of praying towards East cf. W. TOMA, *The Mystery of the Church*, 109; P. MANIYATTU, *Heaven on Earth*, 108-109; U.M. LANG, *Turning towards the Lord*, 35-56; A. ALANCHERRY, «Theology of facing the East», from on-line publication.

[311] He says in *Prot.* XI: «For this was the end of the new creation. For "the Sun of Righteousness," who drives His chariot over all», CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Protrepticus*, English trans., *The Exhortation to the Greeks*, tr. G.W. Butterworth, 243.

[312] While commenting on 1Cor 15:21 Tertullian compared the «glory of the sun» to that of Christ, in *De Res.* LII, 13: «So also he brings forward arguments from the heavenly bodies: "The glory of the sun," that is, of Christ, "is one and the glory of the moon" that is, of the Church, "is another and that of the stars" that is, of the seed of Abraham, "is another"», J.G.PH. BORLEFFS, ed., *Q.S.Fl. Tertulliani. De resurrectione mortuorum*, 997, in PL 2, 872[12]; English trans., *Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh*, trs. A. Souter – D. Litt, 133.

[313] Cf. *Tract.eu.Io.*, XXXIV, 2-3 in R. WILLEMS, ed., *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, 311-312; PL 1652-1653; English trans., *Tractates on the Gospel of John, 28-54*, tr. J.W. Rettig, 61-62.

[314] PS III, 301[15-19](12,7):
ܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܒܗ ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܢܗܪ ܡܪܢ ܓܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܢܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܦܓܪܐ ❊

[315] Eventhough there are several studies about the origin and expansion of Christianity in Persia, the information regarding the nature of their liturgical practices during early centuries are not much. For a brief study of the history of the Liturgy in

a) *The Reading of the Word of God*

The nature of the use of the Bible in the *KM* is already seen in the first chapter[316]. There it is mentioned that at the time of the *KM* community, the canon of the Bible was in a fluid state and it is hard to make any remarks on it. The oldest clear reference to the nature of Scriptural reading during the liturgy of the Persian Church is found in canons of Synod of Mar Isaac (410 AD) convoked in Seleucia – Ctesiphon. The Synod directs:

> And that on all Sundays the Gospel should be read along with other books, the Word of God should be preached until the third or fourth hour; and then the Sacrifice (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ) should be offered[317].

In the same Synod there are certain other legistations regarding the reading of the Scripture:

> The deacons in every city shall do the proclamation (ܟܪܝܙܘܬܐ) like this and the Scriptures shall be read thus and the pure and holy oblation (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ) shall be offered upon one altar in all churches... oblation (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ) shall no longer be offered from house to house[318].

In a following canon the duty of the proclamation of the Gospel is given to the arch deacon (ܪܫܡܕܝܟܢܐ):

> On Sunday, when the bishop is present, he shall proclaim the litany of the deacons upon the bema, read the Gospel[319].

The *KM*, which is almost from the same period, provides not many details about the nature of the reading of the Scripture during their

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East Syriac Church at its beginning centuries, cf. B. VARGHESE, «East Syrian Liturgy During the Sassanid Period», 205-218.

[316] See Chap. I, section «2.7 The Use of the Bible».

[317] *Synod of Mar Isaac* (410 AD), Canon IX:

ܠܠܗܗ ܟܠܪ ܟܠܗ ܟܬܪ ܟܫ ܒ ܟܡܒ ܪܫܡܕܝܟܢܐ ܟܩ ܕܒ ܒ ܕܒܚܝ ܗ ܒܕܚܠ ܟܩܪܒܢܐ ܒ ܟܡܒ ܕܟ ܗ ܠܗ ܟܩܪܒܢܐ ܒ ܟܡܒ ❖

J.B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., *Synodicon Orientale*, Syriac text, 25[25-27]; French trans., 265.

[318] *Synod of Mar Isaac* (410 AD), Canon XIII:

ܟܩ ܟܩܪܒܢܐ ܒ ܟܡܒ ܟܩܟ ܟܩܟ ܒ ܒܙ ܟܡ ܟܡ ܟܬܪ ܟܫ ܒ ܟܩ ܟܩ ܒ ܟܩ ܟܩ ❖ ܟܡܒ ܟ ܟܩ ܟܩܪܒܢܐ ܟ ܟܬ ܟ ... ❖ ܟܡܒ ܟ ܟܩ ܟ ܒ ܟ ❖

J.B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., *Synodicon Orientale*, Syriac text, 27[7-10]; French trans., 266-267.

[319] *Synod of Mar Isaac* (410 AD), Canon XV:

❖ ܟܡܒ ܗ ܒ ܪܫܡܕܝܟܢܐ ܒ ܒ ܟ ❖

J.B. CHABOT, ed.– tr., *Synodicon Orientale*, Syriac text, 27[27]-28[1]; French trans., 267.

assemblies. However, in the *mēmrā* XI there are few references about the reading of the Word of God before the assembly:

> «on the hearing of the scriptures when the Law is read before us...» [320].
>
> «when the Apostle and the Gospel are read...»[321].

From these passages it can be infer that the *KM* community used to read from 'Torah', 'Epistles' and 'Gospel' during their gatherings. In one context it speaks about «scribe (ܣܦܪܐ)»[322] as the one who reads the scripture and about the possibility to have someone «to interpret (ܦܫܪ)» the text for the assembly[323].

b) *Baptism*

The *KM* shares several references to «baptism (ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ)»[324]. The baptism of Jesus from John is mentioned as a typical example of the humility par excellence of Our Lord[325]. The detailed narration provided in the *KM* concerning the baptism is close to the present practices and theology.

1. The *KM* affirms the divine institution of baptism and its practice in the Apostolic Church:

> This visible Church is revealed to everyone, for Our Lord established its altar, its baptism, and its priesthood, because Our Lord and his Apostles prayed in it, baptized in it and they sacrificed in it His body and His blood and truly acted as priests in it[326].

2. It associates baptism with faith (ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ)[327] and confirms that baptism is given in the name of the Lord[328]. The NT records baptism in Jesus' name (cf. Acts 2:28) as well as in the name of the Father, Son and

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[320] PS III, 272[1](11,1): ❖ܟܕ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܦܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܢ ,ܟܬܒ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܣܒܪܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܠܢ

[321] PS III, 273[22](11,1): ❖ܒܡܫܡܥ ܣܦܪ ܩܕܡܝܢ

[322] This term means 'scribe', 'lawyer', 'a learned man', 'writer', 'teacher', 'school master', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 387.

[323] PS III, 272(11,1): ❖ܠ ܡܦܫܪ ܟܬܒ ܐܝ ܣܦܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܢ ,ܟܬܒ ܫܠܝܚ ܒܪ ܐܡ

[324] PS III, 196[24](8,4); 289[17](12,2); 292[2](12,2); 293[1](12,2); 296[16](12,4); 720[3](24,2); 721[9](24,2); 797[9-15](28,8).

[325] Cf. PS III, 661[2-5](22,12); 809[9-10](29,1).

[326] Cf. PS III, 292[1-6](12,2):
ܘܡܫܠܡ ܐܝܟ ;ܡܬܠܡܕܐ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܡܫܬܕܪ ܠܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܣܒܝܪ ܐܢ ,ܘ ܫܠܝ
ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒ ܘܕܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ❖ܒܥܡܕܘ ܕܐ ܘܫܕܘ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܕܐ ܘܐܟܠܘ

[327] Cf. PS III, 196[23-24](8,4); 576[14-15](20,16); 720[2](24,2).

[328] PS III, 576[15](20,16): ܡܥܡܕ ܐܬܐ; *Ibid*., 721[1-2](24,2): ܡܥܡܕ ܠܟ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Holy Spirit (cf. Matt 28:19). The *KM* simply says about baptism «in the name of the Lord (ܡܪܝܐ)» without any specification. However from the context it is clear that here Lord is 'Jesus'.

3. Eventhough it speaks about baptism in water, the detailing of the prayers or rites is absent. The author says that in the visible Church «a person is baptized in the visible waters»[329] and he equated these 'waters' (ܡܝܐ) with «faith»[330].

4. The *KM* speaks about the «seal» given by priests. It used two terms to refer to this priestly seal; «ܚܬܡ / *ḥatmā*»[331] and «ܪܫܡܐ / *rūšmā*»[332] and associated it with baptism. They are still in use to refer to a 'sign of Cross' made by priests on various occasions, either on holy things or on the receiver of the sacraments. The term *rūšmā* is a technical term and is frequent in liturgical text. There are liturgical vocabularies like «sign of cross (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ)», «sign of baptism (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ)», «leavened Eucharistic bread marked with cross (ܪܫܡܐ ܡܝܡܪ)», «sign of salvation (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ),[333] *etc*.

What is this *rūšmā* or *ḥatmā* ? It is true that in ancient Syriac writings the openion varies regarding the nature of this «seal» as well as its administration. Some consider it as baptism in its totality, others as a particular rite within the initiation rites such as 'anointing with oil', 'laying on of hands', 'sealing with cross', 'sealing with divine name'[334], *etc*. Through the centuries these terms received specific meanings within the 'rite of initiation'[335]. Thus in later tradition *rūšmā* refers to pre-baptismal anointing while the *ḥatmā*, the post-baptismal sealing equivalent to the present rite of 'confirmation'[336].

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[329] PS III, 296[10-11](12,4): ܒܡܝܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܬܥܡܕ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ

[330] PS III, 720[2](24,2): ܗܝ ܡܝܐ ,ܡܝܡܪ

[331] PS III, 720[11.19](24,2); 721[6.9](24,2). It derives from the verb ܚܬܡ which means 'to seal', 'to close', 'to affix', 'to finish', cf. Payne Smith, 163-164; Sokoloff, 504-505.

[332] PS III, 720[15](24,2): «the seal that given by the priests (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܠܟܗܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)». The term *rūšmā* derives from the verb ܪܫܡ which means 'to grave', 'to draw', 'to sign', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 551, Sokoloff, 1492. For more details of this term, cf. VAN VOSSEL, V., «Le terme et la notion de sceau», 237-260.

[333] Cf. Payne Smith, 536, Sokoloff 1453.

[334] For the details of different concepts regarding the «sealing» as well as its NT and Patristic significances, cf. G.W.H. LAMPE, *The Seal of the Spirit*, 97-305.

[335] Cf. VAN VOSSEL, V., «Le terme et la notion de sceau», 237-260; B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*.

[336] Cf. VAN VOSSEL, V., «Le terme et la notion de sceau», 256; A.J. DOVAL, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 113; S.P. BROCK, «The Baptismal Anointing», 6-7.

In the context of the *KM* these two terms are seems to be used as synonyms. The later development that contributed distinction between *rūšmā* and *ḥatmā* is not evident in the *KM*. At this early stage these terms were used only in a general sense for the whole rite of baptism[337]. Several ancient texts from Syriac tradition follow the same line[338]. In them the connection of the «seal» represented by the terms *rūšmā* and *ḥatmā* and the sacrament of baptism are so close that the «seal» and the rite are almost identified[339]. It is evident in the episodes of baptism narrated in *Acts of Thomas* where the term *rūšmā* is repeated several times. It is recorded there that the candidates demand for *rūšmā*[340] which is presented as a 'sign' by

[337] For the development of these terms through centuries to refer to specific rites of the sacrament initiation, cf. VAN VOSSEL, V., «Le terme et la notion de sceau», 237-260; B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*.

[338] This study can take only few examples from such ancient works. For the detailed study of such ancient works in the context of the development of baptismal anointings, cf. VAN VOSSEL, V., «Le terme et la notion de sceau», 237-260; B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*, 3-133.

[339] For the analysis of certain Syriac works those speak about sealing in the context of baptism, cf. R.H. CONNOLLY, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, xlii-xlix; B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*, 3-133.

[340] While speaking about the baptism of the king Gundaphar in Act I, it is reported that «they begged of him that they might receive the sign (ܚܬܡܐ), "for we have heard that all the sheep of that God, whom you preach are known to him by sign" (ܚܬܡܐ)», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܡܒ ܛ (192)[14-16]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 166; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 75. Again in a following episode of baptism of a lady in Act V, the same request is repeated, «Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal of my Lord (ܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܚܬܡܐ),… and he went to a river which was close by there, and baptized her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I,ܢܫ - ܢܐ (217[19]-218[1]); English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 188; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 123. In Act X, the lady named Mygdonia repeated the same request to receive baptism, «Give me the sign of Jesus the Mesiah (ܚܬܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ)», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܟܐ (290)[4-5]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 257; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 204-204. In the case of baptism of Sifur and his daughter in Act X again it is reported «we beg that we may receive the sign (ܚܬܡܐ) from your hand», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I,ܟܚ (301)[3]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 267; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 214. In Act XIII, the prince Vizan request the Apostle, «you may go with me to my house and you shall give me the sign of life (ܚܬܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ)», *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I,ܥܐ (317)[15–14]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 283 *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 235.

which God recognizes His own sheep[341] and is described the «sign of Jesus Christ»[342], or the «sign of life»[343]. In the *Acts of Thomas rūšmā* is not used as a technical term to describe any pre-baptismal anointing or any other specific defined rite. From his detailed study B. Varghese says that this term is used there to represent baptism in its totality: «Cela est vrai dans les baptêmes des Actes de Thomas où *rûšmô* signifie toujours l'ensemble des rites baptismaux, avec tous ses effects, que ce soit la marque de la brebis ou la protection contre l'ennemi»[344]. In the *Expositions*, Aphrahat uses nearly four times the term *rūšmā* associated with baptism[345]. In Ephrem there are four terms to refer to the «seal» deriving from the verbs, «ܚܬܡ», «ܪܫܡ», «ܚܬܡ», and «ܟܣܐ». In the 7th *Hymn on Virginity* Ephrem make use of all these terms:

Oil is, therefore, the friend of the Holy Spirit and her minister
As a disciple it accompanies Her,
since by it She seals (ܒܚܬܝܡ) priests and anointed ones
For the Holy Spirit by the Anointed brands Her sheep
In the symbol of the signet ring that in sealing wax marks (ܒܚܬܡ) its imprint
Also the hidden mark (ܪܫܡܐ) of the Spirit is imprinted by the oil on bodies
Anointed (ܡܫܝܚܐ) in baptism and sealed in dipping[346].

Here Ephrem associates the seal with the Holy Spirit and there is an expression «hidden mark of the Spirit (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܟܣܝܐ)». From the

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[341] Cf. Act I, *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܡ(192)[14-16]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 166; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 75.

[342] Cf. Act X, *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܟ(290)[4-5]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 257; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 204-204.

[343] Cf. Act XIII, *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I,ܥ (317)[15–14]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 283 *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 235.

[344] B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*, 14.

[345] Aphrahat exhorts to receive Lord's sign (ܡܫܝܚܐ) upon our bodies, cf. PS I, 241[23](VI,1). In the context of the celebration of the feast of Passover he speaks about transmission of sign (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), *Ibid.*, 537[12](XII,13). The oil of olive (ܡܫܝܚܐ) is the symbol of Christ par excellence. In that context Aphrahat says that in the olive tree is the «sign of the mystery of life (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܪܙܐ ܕܚܝܐ)», cf. PS II, 9[5](XXIII,1); again there is an expression «the sign of your life (ܪܫܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ)», *Ibid.*, 133[6-7](XXIII,63).

[346] *HVirg* VII, 6[1-6]:

/ ܫܠ ܪܘܡ ܒܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ / ܫܡܚܕܐ ܪܥܝܢܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ / ܪܫܡ ܘܡ ܚܝ ܘܡ ܟܗܢܐ
ܘܡܫܝܚܐ / ܟܝ ܒܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܚܬܡ ܒܫܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ / ܫܡܚܕܐ ܒܫܘܡ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܚܬܡ ܒܫܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ / ܫܡܚܕܐ ܒܫܘܡ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܚܬܡ ܒܫܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ / ܫܡܚܕܐ ܒܫܘܡ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܚܬܡ ܒܫܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ / ܫܡܚܕܐ ܒܫܘܡ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ❖

E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 26; English trans., *Ephrem the Syrian Hymns*, K.E. MCVEY, tr., 294.

beginning of the Church, the concept of «sealing» associated with baptism or rites of initiation is considered as «the inward mark or stamp of the indwelling spirit of God which is received by the convert who is justified by faith in Christ and through Baptism is sacramentally made a partaker of Him in His death and resurrection»[347]. This association has its major roots in three Pauline texts[348]. Scholars have different openions about whether Paul directly connected this sealing with the rite of baptism or not[349]. In the *KM* too indirectly the *rūšmā* is associated with the Holy Spirit. It uses the term «ܥܪܝܛܐ» which means 'bare', 'naked', 'stripped'[350] *etc.* to speak about the state of a person without the *rūšmā*:

> If he has walked in sin until departure, the Lord of the flock will take from him the seal (ܪܘܫܡܐ) that the priest have given him and he will remain naked (ܥܪܝܛܐ)[351]

In Chapter III, while speaking about the «robe of Glory» it is mentioned that this 'robe' that one receives during baptism is the Holy Spirit[352]. Hence, when the *KM* speaks about the absence of *rūšmā* as nakedness, it can easily be associated with the state of a person without the «robe of glory» which is the Holy Spirit.

The *Syriac Didascalia* speaks about the «unbreakable seal of baptism (ܚܬܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܙܥ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ)»[353]. Here the term *ḥatmā* refers to baptism in its totality[354]. Like *Didasc. Syr.* the *KM* also affirms the unbreakable nature of the *ḥatmā* received through baptism. It says that «not even the

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[347] G.W.H. LAMPE, *The Seal of the Spirit*, 97.

[348] 2Cor 1:21-22, Eph 1:13-14, 4:30.

[349] For view points among the scholars about these Pauline texts, cf. G.W.H. LAMPE, The Seal of the Spirit, 3-18.

[350] Cf. Payne Smith, 428.

[351] PS III, 720[14-16](24,2):
ܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܬ ܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܟܕ ܪܘܫܡܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܘܢܫܬܪ ܗܘ ܥܪܝܛ ܠܗ ܡܪܥܐ ܕܥܕܪܐ ܕܢܬܒܙܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܢ ܥܪܝܛܐ

[352] See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 a) + Robe of Glory».

[353] In *Didasc. Syr.* Chap. XVI as the part of the duty of the dioconness it is written that:
ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܬ ܗܝ ܕܡܬܥܡܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܢܩܒܠܝܢ ܐܢ ܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܘܢܠܦܢ ܐܢ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܙܥ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܒܥܦܝܦܘܬܐ ܘܒܩܕܫܐ

«And when she who is being baptized has come up from the water, let the deaconess receive her and teach and educate her in order that the unbreakable seal of baptism shall be (kept) in chastity and holiness», A. VÖÖBUS, ed. – tr., *Didascalia: Chapters XI-XXVI*, Syriac text, CSCO 407, 173[18-21]; English trans., *Ibid.*, CSCO 408, 157[6-9].

[354] Cf. V. VAN VOSSEL, «Le terme et la notion de "sceau"», 244; B. VARGHESE, *Les onctions*, 16.

'seal' (ܚܬܡܐ) that the priests gave us will pass away from us until our departure»[355]. In one occasion, there is a clear reference to «seal of baptism (ܚܬܡܐ ܡܥܡܕܢܝܬܐ) which is established even upon the unjust until death»[356]. Referring to the 'parable of the talents'[357] the author associates this 'seal' with the 'talents' entrusted to the servants by the Lord and exhorts to be faithful to the Lord through the observance of Lord's commandments. Otherwise, the after effect will be same as that of the evil servant of the Parable and the *KM* narrated the words of the Lord at the climax episode as «take from him that money, that is that seal (ܚܬܡܐ) and give to him who keep my words»[358].

5. The *KM* speaks briefly about the fruits of baptism received by a baptized one. A person «receives Holy Spirit from baptism»[359]. It provides the receiver the right to enter into the Kingdom of God[360] and affirms that, through baptism the receiver can have the «absolution (ܫܪܝܪܐ)» and «pardoning of sins (ܫܒܘܩ ܚܛܗܐ)»[361].

In short even though not much elaborated, the baptismal theology of the *KM* seems to be integral and much developed.

c) *Eucharist*

It is a known fact that the Eucharistic celebration is the heart of the visible ministry of the Church. However, in the *KM* there are only vague references to it. The Syriac Churches use an irreplaceable term «ܩܘܪܒܢܐ»[362] to refer to the Eucharistic celebration. The literal meaning of this word is 'an offering', 'oblation to God', 'a sacrificial offering', the 'Eucharistic

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[355] PS III, 720[11-12](24,2): ❖ܠܡܗܝܡܢ ܚܙܝ ܕܚܬ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܟܗܢ̈ܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܡܢ̈ܢ ܥܕ ܕܢܦܩ̈ܘܢ

[356] PS III, 721[9-10](24,2):
❖ܠܡܗܝܡܢ ܚܙܝ ܕܠܐ ܒܛܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܥܡܝܕ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܝܬܐ

[357] Cf. Matt 25:14-30; Luke 19:11-27.

[358] PS III, 721[6-7](24,2): ❖ܗܘ ܢܣܒ ܡܢܗ ܗܘ ܟܣܦܐ ܗܘ ܚܬܡܐ ܘܗܒ ܠܡܢ ܕܢܛܪ ܒܦܬ̈ܓܡܝ

[359] PS III, 797[8-9](28,8): ܒܥܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܕܢ ܡܩܒܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܚܝܐ

[360] Cf. PS III, 576[11-15](20,16).

[361] PS III, 288[15-19](12,1):
ܘܢ ܫܒܘܩ ܚܛܗܐ ܘܢ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܡܕܢܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܥܠ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ
ܠܗ ܕܡܐܡܢ ܘܡܬܥܡܕ ܒܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܛܒ̈ܐ ❖

«Let us believe and be sure in this visible Baptism that is of the Spirit and the absolution and forgiveness of sins is for him who believes in it and is baptized in it and performs good deeds».

[362] It derives from the verb ܩܪܒ which means 'to come near', 'to bring', 'to offer', *etc*., cf. Payne Smith, 517.

oblation', 'consecrated bread', 'Eucharist', *etc*[363]. The *KM* has this word several times[364]. However, in all these cases it refers to an 'offering' one brings to the temple for self-purification and to fulfil penitential rites[365]. It is never used as a clear reference to the Eucharistic celebration. However, there are certain other expressions with indications about the celebration of the Eucharist. While speaking about the visible Church and the Apostles, the *KM* makes it clear that the Apostles «sacrificed in it [in visible Church] His body and His blood and truly acted as priests in it»[366]. The worthiness required for the participation in the Eucharist is also mentioned. The author quotes the Pauline exhortation in 1Cor 11:27 to warn the person who «eats the body of the Lord and drinks his blood while not being worthy of him»[367]. Again while speaking about 'idol worship' he asks, «How is it that those who receive the body and blood of our Savior do not fear to serve secretly the secret idols»[368]. All these references witness to the Eucharistic celebration in the *KM* community. No further details are there to understand the nature of the celebration.

d) *Priesthood*

Along with baptism the *KM* mentions frequently the «priesthood (ܟܗܢܘܬ)». In the visible Church, just like baptism, the «priesthood» is also established by the Lord[369]. The visible Church trains her children through many visible elements which belong to her institutional structure. The human persons, who perform ministerial priesthood for her, have a vital role in this training. In the *KM*, a priest (ܟܗܢ), like a good pastor, always acts as a spiritual father directing and correcting the faithful under him. He helps them to retain the «purity of heart» by administering the sacraments to them, as well as through their counseling[370]. The Church, in a

[363] Cf. Sokoloff, 1343, Payne Smith, 498.

[364] PS III, 633[9](22,1); 680[18](22,20); 681[4](22,20), *etc*.

[365] Cf. PS III, 29[4](2,2); 244[27](9,20); 392[18](16,2); 681[6](22,20); 633[9](22,1); 680[18](22,20); 681[4](22,20); 677[23](22,19).

[366] PS III, 292[5-6](12,2): ܒܟܪܝܗ ܕܡ ܘܡܕܡ ܡܬܐ ܡܝܟ ܕܡ ܘܡܕ

[367] PS III, 576[8-10](20,16): ܠܐ ܟܐ ܠܟ ܕ ܡܕܐ ܟܒܐ ܟܝܐ ܡܝܟ ܠܐ

cf. *Ibid.*, PS III, 177[10-12](7,17).

[368] PS III, 177[5-8](7,16):

؟ܟܫܐ ܟܝܟܠ ܒܟܫ ܘܫܠ ܘܦܘ ܡܬܐ ܡܝܟ ܥܠ ܫܠ ܟ ܐ

[369] Cf. PS III, 292[1-6](12,2).

[370] As it is seen above the «seal» given by a priest refers to the administration of the sacraments; see this Chapter, section «3.2.2 b) Baptism».

way, is revealed through her visible priesthood. The role of a priest is presented as one who assists the faithful to avoid repeating sins[371].

The *KM* mentions a list of duties that the priests perform in the Church. They «bury its dead, visit its sick, and teach and edify its living»[372]. Even now the situation is the same and the priests are performing these duties for the faithful. As a part of citation from 1Cor 12:28 the author speaks about the «gifts of healing (ܟܒܐܝܬܐ ܟܒܛܝܬܐ)»[373]. It can be assumed that during their visit to the sick surely the priests would have prayed for their healing.

In *mēmrā* XIII, the duties of the priests are presented as service to the Upright who help them grow into the state of the «Perfect». Those who receive the fruits of priestly ministry - the Upright - have the responsibility to cooperate with their priests. The *KM* asks them to honour their priests and advises that: «No one should doubt the Church or its priests»[374]. Therefore, the «Upright» honor their priests, heed their words, and give them the best of all their crops[375]. There is even an instruction in the *KM* that the priests should be called «'my lords' (ܡܪܝ) and 'my patrons' (ܡܪܝܐ)»[376].

In addition to these references to priests and their duties there are some scanty allusions to other categories found in the community of faithful like, «old men and women (ܟܒܗܝܐ ܟܫܝ)»[377], «deaconesses (ܟܒܕܝܐܟܢܝܬ)»[378], and the «male and female celibates (ܟܒܐܬܝܠܐ ܕܬܪܝ)»[379]. The duties or the nature of their status is not provided in detail.

e) *Penitential Services*

There are certain vague narrations about certain penitential acts[380]. It is said that the person brings «offering (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ)»[381] to the temple to receive forgiveness. It seems that such petitential offerings were presided over by

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[371] Cf. PS III, 680[20]- 681[20](22,20).
[372] PS III, 309[1](13,2): ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ
[373] PS III, 233[21](9,14).
[374] PS III, 780[1-2](27,5): ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ ܒܟܢܝܐ ܘܒܟܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܦܠܓ
[375] Cf. PS III, 308[21]-309[1](13,2).
[376] PS III, 389[20-21](16,2).
[377] PS III, 309[24](13,2).
[378] PS III, 309[25](13,2).
[379] PS III, 389[21](16,2).
[380] Cf. PS III, 680[17]-681[20](21,20).
[381] See this Chapter, section «3.2.2 c) Eucharist».

priests. «The offering of each person was known and why he offered it»[382]. The priests asks the person «what is the sin? (ʕܚܛܝܬܐ ܡܢܐ)»[383] before he makes the offering. An expression is seen twice that the sinner «might be ashamed before the Priest and the Congregation»[384].

In the Act VI of the *Acts of Thomas* a similar practice is narrated. It speaks about a young man who killed a girl after having slept with her. When the young man came to receive the Eucharist both his hands were dried up as he was going to put it in his mouth. The incident was reported to the apostle and he called the young man asked him: «Tell me, my son, and be not ashamed before me. What have you done and come hither now?»[385]. B. Varghese observes this scene of the *Acts of Thomas* as a «narrative of the early rite of reconciliation of sinners presided over by the bishops, as it was practiced in the Syriac Church. When the rumor of a crime was reported to the bishop, he summoned the accused and exhorted him to confess his sins and to be reconciled with the Church»[386].

The *KM* never thinks that those who have sinned after baptism cannot be saved. It speaks in a significant way about the renewal of the repentant person[387] who is renewed in the fire of the love of Jesus.

> If we should slip after we are baptized and repent there is the love of Jesus, a living fire (ܢܘܪܐ ܚܝܐ) that will cleanse our dirt and our foulness. He will travail and give birth to us anew and will sign (ܚܬܡ) us as at the beginning. Not even the seal (ܚܬܡܐ) that the priests gave us will pass away from us until our departure[388].

As it is seen before, the *KM* speaks about the «seal» of the priest associated with baptism. Renewal of the repentant person is described as a

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[382] PS III, 681[6-7](22,20):

ܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܡܛܝܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ❊

[383] PS III, 681[10](22,20).

[384] PS III, 680[26](22,20): ❊ܕܢܬܒܗܬ ܥܡ ܟܗܢܐ ܘܥܕܬܐ; for similar idea cf. *Ibid*., 681[14](22,20).

[385] *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܟ(220)[6-7]; English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 190; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 127.

[386] B. VARGHESE, «Acts of Judas Thomas and Early Syriac Liturgy», 88. The observation of the Varghese is confirmed by testimonies from different Patristic texts, cf. P. ADNÈS, «Pénitence», 960.

[387] PS III, 717[4]-720[11](24,2).

[388] PS III, 720[6-12](24,2):

ܢܘܪܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܬܐܚܕܐ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܝܩ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܛܝܦܬܢ ܘܡܢ ܣܝܪܘܚܢ ܘܢܝܠܕ ܠܢ ܚܕܬ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܘܚܬܡ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܢܥܒܪ ܥܕ ܕܢܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܥܡܢ ❊

rebirth to receive the renewal of the seal given to him. Hence it can be assumed that the *KM* considers the rite of penance as a 'second baptism' as considered in the early Church[389].

f) *Marriage*

It is true that the *KM* stands for a celibate life as a requirement for the state of «Perfection». However it allows «marriage (ܟܝܢܐ)» as a concession for the Upright. It is already discussed in Chapter II about the practice of marriage and celibate life in the *KM* community[390]. Throughout the work the author speaks for the Upright, who are supposed to be the married people. It expresses the growing tendency within the Church to appreciate marriage. The favourable position of the Church towards the marriage was explicit in Canon III of a 5th century East Syrian Synod of Acacius (486 AD) which permits clerical marriage noting that many fall through adultery and fornication. This canon allows Bishops and those who are already in the dioconate to marry and permits the priests whose first wives have died to get re-married without any episcopal interference. The declaration regarding celibacy and marriage is notable:

> Therefore we command and teach that these things shall be, so that the choice holiness rather than marriage with legal intimacy and procreation of children may be free from force and compulsion[391].

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[389] In the *Acts of Thomas*, the Act VI narrates the penitential rites similar to that of baptism. The repentant one has to wash himself in blessed water to recive ritual absolution and reconciliation, cf. *Acts of Thomas*, in W. WRIGHT, ed., *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, I, ܬܘܒܗ-ܕܟܝܢ (221-222); English trans., *Ibid.*, II, 191-192; *The Acts of Thomas*, tr. A.F.J. Klijn, 128. Tertullian also presents repentance in associated with baptism, *De paen.* VII, 10: «He has permitted the door of forgiveness, although it is closed and locked by the bar of Baptism, still to stand somewhat open. He has placed in the vestibule a second penitence so that it may open the door to those who knock», J.G.PH. BORLEFFS, ed., *Q.S.Fl.Tertulliani. De paenitentia*, 333-334; in PL 1, 1241; English trans., *Treatises on Penance*, tr. W.P. Le Saint, 29.

[390] See Chap. II, section «1.1.2 c) + Marriage».

[391] Canon III of Synod of Mar Acacius (486 AD):
ܟܕܢܝ ܐܢܚܢ ܡܘܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܡܠܦܢ ܘܡܟܪܙ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܩܕܫ ܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܚܘܪ ܘܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܚܘ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ

g) *Prayer Formulae*

It is true that the *KM* community gave much importance to Prayer[392]. They used «Words of God (ܡܠܬܐ ,ܩܠܐ) for their prayer[393]. According to A. Kowalski the recitation of the «Words of God» can be that of Psalms. He says that the huge number of biblical quotations in the work gives the testimony that the author and his community constantly learned and recited the biblical texts[394].

In the *KM* there are several short praises with synonymous terms «ܫܒܚܐ»[395] or «ܬܫܒܚܬܐ»[396], *i.e.* the «praise or glory» addressed to Lord[397]. It seems that there existed a tradition of repeating the «praises of Our Lord (ܡܪܢ ܬܫܒܚܬܐ)»[398]. The Syriac liturgical texts are full of these kinds of praises[399]. Again there are expressions of salutations that contains the «ܫܠܡܐ»[400] wish and here the *KM* goes close with the greeting style that found in Pauline Epistles[401] and Liturgical texts[402]. The praise addressing to the three persons of the Trinty is a diffused liturgical

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[392] For a detailed study on the prayer style in the *KM*, cf. A. KOWALSKI, «Die Gebete», 273-281.

[393] PS III, 816[17-23](29,3).

[394] Cf. A. KOWALSKI, «Die Gebete», 275.

[395] It derives from ܫܒܚ and means ‘praise’, ‘glory’, ‘splendour’, *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1518.

[396] It derives from the same root ܫܒܚ and shares same meanings like ‘praise’, ‘glory’, ‘splendour’, *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 1673.

[397] PS III, 304[23-24](12,7): «ܐܡܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܥܠܡܝ ܠܗ ܫܒܚܐ (Praise be to Him for ever and ever Amen»; *Ibid*., 304[23-24](12,7): «ܡܪܢ ܠܟ ܫܒܚܐ (Praise be to You Our Lord)»; *Ibid*., 832[22-23](29,8): «ܐܡܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܥܠܡܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܡܦܪܩܢ ܘܦܪܘܩܢ ܠܗ ܫܒܚܐ (Praise be to our Saviour and to our redeemer, forever and ever, Amen)»; *Ibid*., 428[25](17,8); 565[6](20,13): «ܠܗ ܫܒܚܐ (Praise be to Him)»; *Ibid*., PS III, 385[2-3](15,20): « ܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܪܢ ܐܝܬܘ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܗ. ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ (Our Lord Jesus Christ, King of all ages, to Him be glory, Amen)».

[398] PS III, 816[17-20](29,3).

[399] For the praise formulae cf. *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 12, 13, 22, 29, *etc*.

[400] PS III, 856[13-15](29,19):

ܐܡܝܢ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܚܝܘܢ ܒܗ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܢ

«May the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with all people that they many live, Amen»; *Ibid*., 856[17-19](29,19): ܐܡܝܢ ܒܝܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܥܠ ܚܒܪܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܝܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܬܪ

«May His grace abound especially over our friends, and may they reign by the hand of Christ, Amen».

[401] Cf. Rom 16:20; 1Cor 16:23; Gal 6:18; 2Cor 13:14.

[402] Cf. *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 35.

formula[403] and in the *KM* there are two Trinitarian praise formulae[404]. The few other praise formulae found in the *KM* are quite similar to Jewish *Berakah*[405]. In the *Berakah* God is blessed for His work and the wonders of His work[406]. The *KM* too uses the same formula to praise the Lord[407]. Usually the the Lord's prayer is known by its first terms «Our Father in Heaven» and in Syriac it is «ܐܒܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ». The *KM* witnesses certain prayers those allude to the Lord's Prayer:

> Our Lord Jesus, save us from the evil one and form us according to Your will. Our Father who is in Heaven (ܐܒܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ) blessed is Jesus Christ. Save us from temptations and make us according to your acceptable and perfect will[408].

> Our Lord said: Pray so that the will of God might be on earth as it is in heaven[409].

It is interesting to note that in the *KM* the majority of prayers are addressed to Christ. Prayers addressed to Christ is one of the characteristic traits of early liturgy[410]. Several Apocryphal writings both in Greek and Syriac attest a liturgical tradition in which prayers are addressed to Christ[411]. B. Varghese through his different studies affirms that prayers, including those of baptism and Eucharist are usually addressed to Christ and he considers this style as one of the characteristic traits of early Syriac

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[403] «ܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܒܐ ܘܠܒܪܐ ܘܠܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (Praise be to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit)», cf. *Ṭaksā d-Rāzā*, 13, 22, 29, *etc*; *Breviarium*, ـد, ـه, *etc*.

[404] See, Chap. I, section «2.5.4 The Presence of Primitive Trinitarian Theology».

[405] For the patterns of the liturgical *Berakah* and their origins, cf. J. HEINEMANN, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 77-103.

[406] N. LODA, «Benedictions: Theology», 307.

[407] PS III, 332^{23}(14,4): « ❖ܒܪܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܡܪܝ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ (Blessed are You, Lord Jesus Christ)»; *Ibid*., 237^{15}(9,15): «❖ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܡܪܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ (Blessed is Our Lord Jesus)»; *Ibid*., 337^{7-8}(15,1): «❖ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܛܒܐ ܕܦܬܚ ܬܪܥܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܚܢܐ (Blessed is the Good who opens the door to everyone who repents)».

[408] PS III, 857^{6-10}(29,19):

ܐܒܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܘܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܕܢܫܬܘܕܕ ܒܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ❖ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ

liturgy[412]. These prayer formulae might have been in common use among the primiltive communities of faithful and hence it is natural that gradually they entered into their liturgical texts as well as in their literature.

3.2.3 Imageries of the Visible Church

For explaining the nature of the duties of the visible Church, the author used two very cordial feminine imageries of «mother (ܐܡܐ)» and «wet nurse or educator (ܡܚܫܢܬܐ)». In another place we see an expression combining both these duties as «mother educator (ܐܡܐ ܡܚܫܢܬܐ)»[413]. The presentation of the Church as mother was a diffused theme in early Christianity[414]. The maternal figure of the Church is derived from the OT concept of Israel as 'Bride of Yahweh'[415]. It is well developed in the NT by Paul and John[416]. The unique development of this theme 'the Church as the Mother' makes the *KM* distinct among the early Syriac Christian writers. In the *Acts of Thomas* and in the the *Odes of Solomon* such a theme is absent. Aphrahat[417] and Ephrem[418] do not speak directly on this theme even though they call Christians «children of the Church (ܒܢܝ ܥܕܬܐ)». As seen already, for them the Holy Spirit (ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) performs the duty of a mother[419]. However, in the *KM* the position of mother is not given to the Holy Spirit,

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[412] Cf. B. VARGHESE, «Prayers Addressed to Christ», 90; ID., «Acts of Judas Thomas and Early Syriac Liturgy», 81.

[413] PS III, 297[10](12,5).

[414] For A brief study on the motherhood of the Church, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church*, 142-154; J.B. PLUMPE, *Mater Ecclesia*; J. CHALASSERY, *The Holy Spirit and Christian Initiation.*

[415] For a recent study on Church as mother, daughter and bride giving focus on Syriac patristic as well as liturgical tradition, cf. N.J. KALAMBUKATTU, «Church the Bride», 156-170.

[416] For the biblical foundation of the mother imagery applied to the Church, cf. J.B. PLUMPE, *Mater Ecclesia*, 1-12.

[417] PS I, 573[3.9](XIV,1): «ܒܢܝ ܥܕܬܐ»; «ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ».

[418] *HNis* XXIX,1[3]: «ܚܘܣ ܥܠ ܥܕܬܟ ܕܐܬܩܛܥܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܢܝܗ (Have pity on your Church whose children are divided within)», E. BECK, ed. *Carmina Nisibena*, I, 64. In Ephrem's *Hymns on Faith* as the part of a prayer for the unity among the divided churches there is a reference about the children of the Church, *HFid* LII, 15[4-5]: «ܡܢ ܟܠ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܕ ܒܗ / ܘܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܒܢܝܗ ܒܝܬ ܚܫܐ (From all churches there may be a single Church of Truth / and let her children be gathered righteous in her bosom)», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 164. For more details of this prayer, cf. R. MURRAY, «St. Ephrem the Syrian on Church Unity», 174-175.

[419] See Chap. I, section «2.5.7 The Names Applied to the Holy Spirit».

but to the Church. The 'visible Church' is called the «blessed Mother (ܐܡܐ ܡܒܪܟܬܐ)»[420] and the 'Church in the heaven' the «mother of all the living and the Perfect (ܐܡܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܚܝܐ ܘܫܠܡܬܐ)»[421] or the «mother of all the baptized (ܐܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ)»[422]. Here Eve the «mother of all living»[423] stands as a type of the Church.

All the maternal duties like «giving birth», «feeding», «bringing up of the children», *etc*., are attributed to the Church. It is said that the Church with its altar and baptism «gives birth (ܝܠܕ)»[424] to people as infants. In the Syriac tradition the «Rites of Initiation» formed a single unit consisting of the 'anointing' (ܡܫܚܐ)», the 'baptism of water', and the 'Eucharistic communion'[425]. Hence it is natural that the author paired «altar and

[420] PS III, 292[6](12,2).
[421] PS III, 293[17](12,3).
[422] PS III, 292[23](12,2).
[423] Cf. Gen 3:20.
[424] Cf. PS III, 289[25](12,2), 292[26](12,3). According to the Johannine theology, the baptism is a re-birth, cf. John 3:3-5. Hence in the Syriac tradition baptismal font and water have the maternal duty of generation. Ephrem calls baptismal font as womb; in *HVirg*., VII, 7[3-6] he says:
ܫܒܚ ܡܒܘܟܪܟ ܠܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܚܠܨ ܡܠܝܢ ܡܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܟܝ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܫܒܝ ܀ ܡܫܘܚ ܕܡܥܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܟܪܣܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܚܕܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܥܬܝܩ ܝܘܡܝ ܀ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܟܝ ܠܐ ܝܠܕ ܒܢܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܕܠܐ ܒܟܝ ܀
«They descended in debts as filthy ones and ascended pure as babes since they have baptism, another womb. (Baptism's) giving birth rejuvenates the old just as the river rejuvenated Na'man. O to the womb that gives birth to royal sons every day without birthpangs», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 26. Ephrem calls the baptismal water as the «womb of water» in *HCruc* III, 8[5]: «ܡܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܐ», E. BECK, *De Crucifixione*, 51. The same idea can be seen in the prayer of the consecration of baptismal water in the East Syriac tradition:
ܐܬܩܕܫ ܡܝܐ ܗܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܬܒܪܟ ܒܗ ܡܝܪܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܘܠܕ ܚܕܬ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܠܚܝܐ ܒܡܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܚܘܠ ܠܟܠ ܚܛܗ̈ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܀
«This water is signed and consecrated and mixed with the Holy oil that it may become new womb bringing forth spiritually in absolving baptism, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit for ever», *Kelaita*, ܡܚ (142); cf. *The Sacraments*, 45; Malayalam trans., *Koodasakal*, 126.
[425] Several ancient sources speak about such a rite. For the origin and development of Rite of Initiation, cf. J. CHALASSERY, *The Holy Spirit*, 7-89.

baptism», *i.e*. the Eucharist and baptism[426] for narrating the maternal duty of the Church. After giving birth a mother has to feed her Children. The *KM* adds that duty too to the Church. It says that «they suck (ܡܢܡܨ) her milk until they are weaned»[427] and she «brings up (ܡܚܕܟ)» all the children with proper care[428]. When they grow up they gradually arrive at the understanding of the body and the heart. And they shall have the potential to make their 'bodies temples and their hearts altars'[429].

The next imagery is of a «foster mother or wet nurse (ܡܪܒܝܢܬܐ ܡܚܢܩܬ)»[430]. A wet nurse trains an infant to eat bread which is harder than milk with much patience. In the same way, the visible Church trains her children to eat solid food to grow effectively. The *KM* presents a detailed narration of this training programme. Just like an educator, the visible Church teaches her children to eat something better which helps them to grow. She considers the capacity of each one of her children for digestion, and supplies him with the appropriate food. She feeds them with milk until they are able to receive solid food[431]. It is written that every day this 'blessed educator' (ܡܪܒܝܢܬܐ ܡܚܢܩܬ) gives birth and trains or brings up «good hostages (ܪܗܝܢ ܛܒܐ)»[432] and sends them to that great Church in heaven (ܒܥܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ)[433]. Who are these «good hostages»?

The expression hostage «ܛܒܐ ⁄ *hmayrā*»[434] deserves our special attention. The Syriac word *hmayrā* is a borrowed word from Greek ὅμηρος

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[426] The usage of «altar – baptism» pair is there in several Fathers like Ephrem, Jerome, Cirill of Jerusalem, Augustine, *etc*. *E.g.* In the 8th *Hymn on Virginity*, Ephrem says that baptism gives birth to a person while the altar provides nourishment and proper education, *HVirg* VII, 8[5]: ܡܚܬܐ ܕܒܛܢ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܘܐܬ ܡܬܪܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܐܬ

«O to the womb that, having given birth, is nourished and educated by the altar)», E. BECK, ed., *De Virginitate*, 26.

[427] PS III, 292[26]-293[2](12,3).

[428] PS III, 292[7](12,2).

[429] Cf. S.P. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 48.

[430] PS III, 289[24-25](12,2), 296[23](12,5). The term ܡܪܒܝܢܬܐ derives from the root ܪܒܐ and means wet nurse - the one who trains and brings up a child, cf. Sokoloff, 824-825.

[431] For a detailed description of dietary imageries see Chap. II, section «1.3 *At the level of Diet*».

[432] PS III, 289[26](12,2).

[433] PS III, 289[24]-292[1](12,2):
ܡܚܬܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܘܡܬܪܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܛܒܐ ܡܚܢܩܬ ܘܡܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܒܥܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ⁘

[434] For a study of this term, its origin and its usage in East Syriac liturgical as well as patristic tradition, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Christ "The Hostage"», 472-485.

early in the history of classical Syriac[435]. The *Peshitta* OT witnesses its usage[436]. S.P. Brock notices a change in the connotations of this word in its present usage when compared to that of the ancient. «In antiquity the hostage was not seized by violence, but was handed over by one side to another as a pledge, that the first side would honour an agreement into which it had entered»[437]. Parity or disparity can exist between the two parties. The model of the theological use of the imagery is the case when there was disparity between the two parties. In that case the hostage concerned would be selected from among the younger members of the royal family, by the hostage giving side. The hostage was well treated and given a good education far superior to what he might have received at home[438].

The term *hmayrā* is found several times in Syriac literature[439]. Many Syriac writers place the hostages' future abode as the court of the Heavenly King providing advantages to themselves as well as to those who provide them. Aphrahat and Ephrem share the idea that Christ's human body is the *hmayrā* from the subordinate human realm taken to the Kingdom of Heaven, while indwelling of Christ's Spirit is the *rahbōnā* which baptized humanity receives in exchange[440]. In this context an exhortation of Aphrahat is noteworthy: «Let us bring up well the King's Son who is with

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[435] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «Christ "The Hostage"», 473.

[436] Cf. Num 21:29; Isa 18:2; 1Mac 1:10; 7:7; 9:53; 10:6-9; 11:62; 13:16.

[437] Cf. BROCK, S.P., «Christ "The Hostage"», 473-474.

[438] Cf. BROCK, S.P., «Christ "The Hostage"», 474. Brock brings many examples from the political history for such protected hostages, *Ibid.*, 473-474.

[439] For its usage in *Expositions* of Aphrahat, cf. PS I, 976[15](XXI,18); PS II, 16[20](XXIII,4); 61[1](XXIII,19); 136[4](XXIII,64). In *Hymns on Nativity* Ephrem uses this term, *HNat* XIX,5[3-5]: ܐܬܘ ܒܗ̈ ܕܒ ܗ̈ ܕܐ ܒܥ̈ ܗ̈ ܕܒ ܗ̈ ܕܒ ܗ̈ ܕܒ

us, seeing that a hostage in exchange for Him has been led off from us»[441]. Brock makes an important comment on this passage:

> Aphrahat can thus be seen to be pointing to the idea of complementarities in salvation history: at the incarnation the King's son puts on the body of Adam, and then at resurrection he takes this "hostage" from humanity and enthrones him at the right hand of the King, his Father; in exchange for this hostage, who is brought up in the court of heaven, we are to bring up (in the sense of allow to grow, as far as his presence within us is concerned) and magnify the King's Son whom we have ourselves "put on" at baptism[442].

In this context it is easy to understand the mind of the author of the *KM*, when he says that «this blessed educator gives birth every day and brings up (ܚܕܝܟ) good hostages (ܪܗܝܢܐ ܛܒܐ) and sends them to that great Church on high»[443]. As it is seen in the previous chapters the growth from the «Uprightness» to the state of «Perfection» is a growth from the level to have the «pledge (*'urbānā*)» of the Spirit to its fullness the «*Paraclete* (ܦܪܩܠܛܐ)»[444]. The role of the blessed educator is to give birth to the children through baptism and to bring up the 'King's Son', *i.e*. the presence of the Holy Spirit whom they received at baptism. In short, the aim of the process of this 'bringing up' (ܚܕܝܟ) is to lead them to the state of «Perfection», *i.e.* to the level of the fullness of the Spirit. One who submits himself under the training of this «mother» will be led to the state of «Perfection» and hence he can foster the «Church» in his heart. In that sense the «Church of the heart» is a metaphorical or symbolic expression to narrate the state of Perfection.

3.2.4 The Role of the Visible Church

The *KM* describes the unique role of the visible Church and its necessity for the present generation. Certain special facts about the visible Church said by the author are valid for the Ecclesiology of any time. He speaks about the divine foundation of the Church in an explicit way.There are two proof passages in *mēmrā* XII:

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[441] PS I, 280[14-15](VI,10):
ܢܟܝ ܚܢ ܚܠܟ ܒܠܥ ܒܥܝ ܗܘ ܪܗܝܢܐ ܛܒܐ ܕܐܬܚܕ ܡܢܢ ,ܒܗ ܚܢ ܕܢ ܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܚܢ ܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܚܢ ܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܚ

For Our Lord and His preachers, former and the latter did not establish in vain this Church, altar and baptism which can be seen by the physical eyes[445].

This visible Church is revealed to all for Our Lord established its altar, its baptism and its priesthood[446].

The *KM* describes the visible Church as Catholic and presents it as the source of all truth. In the Catholic Church we are exhorted to love all, since it is for all.

No one should doubt the Church or its priests; from the Catholic Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܩܬܘܠܝܬܐ) all truth shall be known. Let us love even idolaters and infidels, while the Catholic Church is great in our eyes[447].

The primary role of the Apostles within the Church was very clear to the author. With the support of Heb 11:40 the author places the priority of the Apostles (ܫܠܝܚܐ) in salvation history. According to him, Christ hurried to perfect them before the Prophets and made them first. All the prophets and righteous ones longed to be Perfect. But Jesus perfected them only after the Apostles[448].

The Prophets and the first Upright ones those who were perfected after they had departed from this world in the sight of the Apostles[449].

The reason why they were not perfected is not that they were less than the Apostles, but because of the absence of «ܫܠܡܐ» in their days[450]. The term ܫܠܡܐ is normally translated as ‘peace’ or ‘harmony’. But it also means ‘cultivated land’, ‘favourable conditions’ *etc*[451]. The Apostle Paul in his Letter to the Ephesians says about Christ that «He is our peace «εἰρήνη / ܫܠܡܐ»[452]. In both cases it can be infer that unfavourable conditions or the

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[445] PS III, 288[20-24](12,2):
ܠܝܬ ܡܫܬܟܚܬ ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܒܝܫܬ ,ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܝܢܝ ܒܣܪܐ ܢܚܙܘܢ ❖

[446] PS III, 292[1-3](12,2):
❖ܗܕܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܓܠܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ,ܫ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܟܗܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܚܗ ܘܡܥܡܕܗ

[447] PS III, 780[1-5](27,5).
.ܡܢܝܢ ܠܟ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ,ܫ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܟܗܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܚܗ ܘܡܥܡܕܗ ,ܫ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܟܗܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܚܗ ܘܡܥܡܕܗ

[448] Cf. PS III, 229[5-19](9,12).

[449] PS III, 232[26]-233[1](9,13):
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܡܫ ܟ ܐܦܠ ܟ ܐܝܟܢܗܝ ܒܠܡ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ,ܫ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ ❖ܐܝܟܢܗܝ ܕܡܠܐ

[450] Cf. PS III, 232[1-3](9,12).

[451] Cf. Sokoloff, 1552-1553.

[452] Cf. Eph 2:14.

absence of peace (Christ) is the privation of the fruits of the incarnation and the resurrection of Christ. Here comes the role of the visible Church where this favourable condition is found. The expression «in the sight of the Apostles (ܠܚܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ)»[453] is significant. According to the author, the 'Apostles' represent the Church on earth and hence even the Prophets and the Uprights of the generations before the incarnation of our Lord received «Perfection» only through the visible Church, *i.e.* they are perfected «in the sight of the Apostles». If it is the case of the OT prophets, how much is the importance of visible Church for the present generation. The author explains it in clear words:

> If a person does not walk today in the steps of Our Lord and His Apostles, he will not go with the prophets. Because after the prophets departed from the world, our Lord perfected them in the sight of the Apostles and elevated them to the place of perfection[454].

The author warns that if someone is not perfected before his departure from this world, he will not be perfected in the next world. Our Lord will not perfect him as He did for the Prophets. Because the possibility is open before him; the Church. If a person is not walking in the «steps of Our Lord and the Apostles (ܒܬܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ)»[455], he will not be treated in the line of the Prophets who were perfected after their death in the sight of the Apostles. The author affirms that the Perfect ones of today are the image of the Apostles (ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܗܝ ܕܝܘܡܢ)[456]. The footsteps of Our Lord and the Apostles are nothing but the visible ministry of the Church. Refering to this context of the *KM*, P. Bettiolo speaks about the unavoidable necessity of the visible ministry of the Church:

> Perché questo è importante? Perché dimostra la necessità della chiesa visibile, costituita a partire da Gesù, dal suo aver ridato inizio alla storia dell'uomo in ordine alla salvezza; di quella chiesa in cui sola principia, da cui sola zampilla la vita nuova, per i vivi e i morti, per chiunque tribolato attenda o abbia atteso, come che sia, nel tempo della giustizia, la perfezione, spoglio di tutto, fatto orante. Questa chiesa non è indefettibile, non è mai sottratta, se non nel suo fondamento, al secolo, alla sua mescolanza - finché Dio non li porti a compimento. Anche gli apostoli, anche coloro che solo intendono attendere al

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[453] PS III, 233[1](9,13); 237[25](9,16).

[454] PS III, 237[21-26](9,16):

ܗܟܝ ܕܠܐ ܗܠܟ ܠܗ ܒܫܒܝܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܒܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܪܢ ܫܠܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܩܕܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܐܣܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܕܪܓܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ

[455] PS III, 237[22-23](9,16).

[456] PS III, 232[25](9,13).

cielo, sono trattenuti nei lacci del tempo mondano, ne patiscono la cattiva pesantezza, pur al modo del loro Signore, per esso morendo[457].

The visible Church through its exalted Lord is linked to the heavenly Church. The heavenly Church is its source of life and freedom. The Church on this world through its visible ministry which is accessible to 'all' make this world an open door to heaven. It means, for the children of the visible Church, the heavenly dimension of the Church is not a static reality. They can participate in the triump of the Lord in the heavenly Church while they are in this visible world and have been set free to use this world and its structures. Hence according to the author the real life is not in the other world, but it is rooted in this world to have a full experience after the departure from this world. This continuity that exist in Church between its earthly and heavenly dimensions is presented metaphorically through the imagery of the «Church of the Heart». The Following section speaks about how the *KM* depicts the «Church of the heart».

3.3 *The Church of the Heart*

The *KM* speaks about the «Church of the heart» on different occasions. A close reading of these passages reveals that the «Church of the heart» is an expression coined to describe the experience or the anticipation of the heavenly Church that happens in one's heart which is pure. The *KM* says: «Whoever attains in his heart that Church in the heaven and then departs, blessed is his spirit that becomes perfect»[458]. Here the intention is that one has to achieve spiritual maturity up to the state of «Perfection» to anticipate the «Church of the heaven». The process of fostering the potential to receive the revelation of the heavenly Church in one's heart is metaphorically presented through one more parallel imagery; *i.e.* the imagery of the 'believer who is becoming a «church»' with his «body as temple and heart as altar». According to the *KM*, the «Church of the heart» is the result achieved by a person who becomes a «church» by converting his «body» as *hayklā* and the «heart» as *madbḥā*. Hence in this section two concepts are taken into the consideration: 1) The «Church of the heart»; 2) The individual believer (Perfect) as a church.

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[457] P. BETTIOLO, «Adamo in Eden e la liturgia celeste», 299.

[458] PS III, 296[4-6](12,4):

ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܕܗܝ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܦܣܩ ܒܝܫ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܡܬܟܠܝܠ ܗܘ

For allusions to the same idea, cf. *Ibid.*, 289[5-12](12,2).

3.3.1 The Church Architecture

It is seen that the visible Church is the image of that in heaven. Hence the structure of both should be similar. Meanwhile, the believer who has received the Church of the heart, in other words who became a «church» should also follow the same structure. The *KM* repeats several times its exhortation to make «our bodies temples and our hearts altars»[459]. The significance of both «body» and «heart» in the *KM* is already dealt in Chapter III[460] and also the study of the terms *hayklā* and *madbḥā* are done in the above sections. Just like the heart which always remains as the part of the body so is the relationship with the *hayklā* and the *madbḥā*. The *hayklā* refers to the building of the worshiping place in general while the *madbḥā* to the altar that makes a building a temple. The following passage from the *KM* speaks more about the «Perfect» as a church:

> The body and heart in which Our Lord dwells; because of the Spirit that resides in it, it is the true temple and altar. Because Our Lord dwells there as it is written, 'Your bodies are temples of the Lord and Christ dwells in your inner man'[461].

This passage includes a combined expression of 1Cor 6:19 and Eph 3:17 and provides three key expressions: a) body as *hayklā*; b) dwelling of Christ in one's inner man; c) heart as *madbḥā*.

a) *Body as Hayklā*

The presentation of 'body as *hayklā*' can be a borrowed Pauline expression[462]. In the Letters of Paul there are certain passages *viz*., 1Cor 3:16-17; 6:19-20; 10:14-22; 2Cor 6:16, *etc*., those use ναός or *hayklā* (Syriac equivalent used in *Peshitta*) as an imagery to speak evidently about a 'believing community' or an individual 'believer'[463]. In the context of the *KM*, the two passages from 1Cor deserve more attention.

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[459] See section «2.2.4 *'Ēdtā*: A Believer» of this Chapter.

[460] See Chap. III, sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

[461] PS III, 292[7-13](12,2):

ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܟܢ ܡܪܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܗܝܟܠ ܘܡܕܒܚ ܗܘ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܒܗ ܡܪܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܕܦܓܪܝܟܘܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܓܘ ܒܠܒܟܘܢ ܡܫܟܢ ܠܗ ܘܗܘ ܒܓܘ ܒܠܒ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܒܐ ܗܘ ܗܝܟܠ ܘܡܕܒܚ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܟ

1)1Cor 3:16-17: «Do you know that you are temple of God and that God's spirit dwells in you (οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν)»[464].

Here it is notworthy that Paul is addressing the Corinthian congregation, or the believing community, *i.e.* here the local «Church» of Corinth is the Temple of God (ναὸς θεοῦ). However this sense is absent in the *KM*. The *KM* focuses not on the believing community but on an individual person who is on the way to Perfection. Hence in its context 1Cor 6:19-20 seems more relevant.

2)1Cor 6:19-20: «Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have [received] from God? (ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστιν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ)»[465]

As seen before, Aphrahat while using the temple imagery always used the expression «you are the temple»; not «your body»[466]. His emphasis is on the integral person, not on the body-soul divisions. However in the *KM* it seems that the author followed the usage of 1Cor 6:19 in order to keep its common pattern of symbolism of visible realities. Like in Aphrahat the *KM* also presents the person in his integrity as a divine abode. For the author the «body and heart», *i.e.* the person in his totality is the abode of the Lord[467]. In the *Book of Paradise of the Fathers* (7th cent.)[468], as the part of the *Lausiac History*[469] there is a small section called *Counsels to Lausus*[470],

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[464] *Peshitta*: ܟ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܟ ܫܪܝܐ

[465] *Peshitta*:
ܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܦܓܪܟܘܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ,ܘ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ؟

[466] See this Chapter, section «2.2.4 *ʿĒdtā*: A Believer».

[467] Cf. PS III, 288[4-5](12,1).

[468] It is a compilation of Egyptian monastic texts in two volumes done by 'Enānīšō', a monk of *Bēt ʿAbē*. The vol. I consists of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius and the *Historia monachorum* of Jerome and the second volume 'Questions and narratives of the Fathers' which he himself had brought together, cf. E.C. BUTLER, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, I, 77- 96; *Isaac of Nineveh*. *The Second Part*, tr. S.P. Brock, XXXV-XXXVI; H.G.B. TEULE, «Paradise of the Fathers, Book of», 322. No critical edition of the entire compilation is available but two editions from late manuscripts, cf. *The Book of Paradise*, I-II, E.A.W. BUDGE, ed.; *Paradisus Patrum*, P. BEDJAN, ed.

[469] The *Historia Lausiac* (*Lausiac History*) by Palladius of Heliopolis written in the beginning of 5th cent. is an important source for the history of early monasticism in Egypt, Palastine, Syria and Asia Minor. It is translated into different languages including Syriac and has several recensions. For a brief study on the *Lausiac History* and on its various editions, versions and translations, cf. R. ZARZECZNY, «The Story of

at the end of the *Letter to Lausus*, where Palladius speaks about a believing man as a temple of God and his vision goes very close to that of the «Church of the heart» of the *KM*:

> The believing mind is a temple of God which it is meet for a man to adorn daily and to burn incense therein, in as much as it is God who dwells there[471].

It is notable that the section *Counsels to Lausus* appears only in editions of Budge and Bedjan. In his discussion on the *Lausiac History* E.C. Butler says that the section appears only in Syriac version[472]. However, the critical edition of the Syriac version made by R. Draguet is without this section[473]. Therefore it can be an addition of the later redactors or editors.

b) *The Dwelling of Christ in One's Inner man*

The *KM* speaks about the dwelling of Christ[474] in one's «inner man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܘܐܝܐ)» not of the indwelling of Holy Spirit. But it never denies the presence of the Spirit in a person. Actually the indwelling of Spirit makes a person «Perfect» enough to become a temple or *'ēdtā*[475] to accommodate

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Paul the Simple from the Historia Lausiaca», 140-146. For the critical edition of the Greek text and textual and historical discussion on the text, cf. E.C. BUTLER, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, I-II; here the second volume provides the edition. For the critical edition of Syriac version based on three recensions, cf. R. DRAGUET, ed., *Les forms syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, I-II.

[470] *Book of Paradise*, II, E.A. W. BUDGE, ed. – tr, 97-99; English trans., *Ibid*., I, 117-118. The section can also found in the edition of P. Bedjan, cf. *Paradisus Patrum*, P. BEDJAN, ed., 7-9.

[471] *Counsels to Lausus* XVI:

ܡܫܒܚ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܒܡܙܡܘܪ ܘܒܬܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܡܣܒܪ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܬܒ ܡܪܝܐ ❊ ܘܠܗ ܢܬܩܪܒ ܒܣܡܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ

Book of Paradise, II, E.A. W. BUDGE, ed. – tr, 99[5-6]; English trans., *Ibid*., I, 118. The passage can also found in the edition of P. Bedjan, cf. *Paradisus Patrum*, P. BEDJAN, ed., 8[18-19].

[472] Cf. E.C. BUTLER, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, I, 81. In Greek edition *Letter to Lausus* is found, without the section *Counsels to Lausus*, cf. E.C. BUTLER, ed., *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, II, 6-14; *The Lausiac History*, tr. R.T. Meyer, 17-29.

[473] Cf. R. DRAGUET, ed., *Les forms syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, I, 4-19. Draguet confesses that he could not identify the MS Lady Meux 6 from Mosul (14th/15th cent.), the Vorlage of the edition of Budge, cf. R. DRAGUET, ed., *Les forms syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, I, 101*-102*. This section may be the uniqueness of Lady Meux 6.

[474] Cf. John 14:20; 17:23; Rom 8:10; Gal 2:20; Eph 3:17-19; Col 1:27; 1John 3:24; Rev 3:20, *etc*.

[475] See Chap. III, section «1.1.3 Inbreathing (ܢܫܡܬܐ)».

Christ. It is already seen that only a person with the fullness of Spirit (Paraclete) can keep 'all' the commandments and can become a «Perfect» and «brother of Christ»[476]. The text from the *KM* affirms the fact that only such a person can become the abode of Christ:

> Our Lord said: If you love me keep my commandments as I have kept the commandments of God, and you will remain in his love, as I have kept the commandments of my Father. I will love you and my Father and I will come to you, I will make you my brothers and my abode (ܒܝܬ ܫܟܝܢܬܐ) and the place of my rest (ܐܬܪ ܢܝܚܐ)[477].

For the author of the *KM*, Christ dwells in one's «inner man» and for Paul Christ dwells in one's heart[478]. Are they speaking of the same thing? Is there exist any relation between the «heart» and the «inner man»? The term the «inner man» is studied in the Chapter III[479] and seen that in the *KM* the «inner man» is almost a synonymous expression of the «soul / mind / heart». Aphrahat shares the same view. In his *Expositions* there are mainly three passages with the expression «inner man»:

> Here is the temple in which Christ dwells, as the Apostle said: 'You are the temple of the Lord' for him to enter into your inner man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܝܟ), into this house, to clean it from everything that is polluted, while the door of your mouth is shut[480].

> Whoever receives the Spirit of Christ, let him decorate his inner man (ܕܝܟ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ). Whoever is called the temple of God, let him purify his body from all pollution[481].

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[476] See Chap. II, section «1.1.1 d) The Perfection: The State of being the Brothers of Our Lord».

[477] PS III, 565[15-21](20,14):
ܘܢܫܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܡܪܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܦܩܕܘܢܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܢܛܪ ܒܦܩܕܘܢܝ ܕܐܒܝ ܘܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܐܒܐ ܠܘܬܟ ܘܐܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܚܐ ܘܒܝܬ ܫܟܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܬܪ ܢܝܚܐ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܐܒܝ ܘܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܬ ❖

[478] Eph 3:17: Christ may dwell through faith in your heart (κατοικῆσαι Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; in *Peshitta*: «ܕܢܫܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܠܒܝܟܘܢ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ».

[479] See Chap. III, section «1.2 Tripartite Man and Human Integrity».

[480] PS I, 157[19-26](IV,10):
ܐܬ ܠܟ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܪܐ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܢܩܕܫ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ❖

[481] PS I, 252[2-12](VI,1):
ܘܐܟ ܕܢ ܢܩܒܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܪܐ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ❖

> As I explained to you, the moment you start praying raise your heart upwards and lower your eyes downwards; enter into your inner man (ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܘܐܝܐ)» and pray in secret to your Father in heaven[482].

Take the third passage to see what does Aphrahat intend by the expression «inner man»? It alludes to Matt 6:6 where instead of «inner man», «inner room (ܟܘܒܐ)» is used. It is noteworthy that the term ܟܘܒܐ is metaphorically connected to the heart. There is an expression ܟܠܝ ܟܘܒܐ for ventricles of the heart[483]. While commenting on Matt 6:6 Aphrahat says:

> Enter the inner room (ܟܘܒܐ) and pray to your Father in secret, and the Father who sees what is hidden will reward you. Why my friend, did our Saviour teach and say «pray to your Father in secret while the door is closed»? I will explain this to you, as far as I understand it. He said, «pray to your Father in secret while the door is closed. This is what the word of our Saviour shows us: pray in secret in your heart (ܒܠܒܟ ܟܬܝܡ ܠܟ ܒܟܝ), and close the door[484].

Hence it is evident that for Aphrahat «inner room» is «heart». In short, for both Aphrahat and the author of the *KM*, «inner man», «inner room» *etc*. refer to the interiority of a man represented by the «heart» which stands in contrast with the exteriority represented by «body».

c) *Heart as Madbḥā*

According to the author of the *KM*, the worship of God happens in three different places, *viz*., the *madbḥā* of the Church on earth, *madbḥā* in heaven and *madbḥā* of the heart. The liturgy at all these places should be in harmony with each other[485]. The presentation of one's heart as *madbḥā* is first found in the *KM*. Similar line of thoughts are there in a homily *On Hermits and Desert Dwellers*[486] falsely attributed to Ephrem[487], Isacc of

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[482] PS I, 165[6-10](IV,13):
ܠܥܠܡ ܒܫܡܝ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܕܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܫܪܝ ܐܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܒܟ ܒܓܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܓܘܐܝܐ ܘܣܓܝ ܥܝܢܝܟ ܒܬܚܬ ܘܨܠܝ ܒܟܣܝܐ ܠܐܒܘܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ❊ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܡܪܢ ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܢ ܬܗܘ ܨܠܝ ܒܟܣܝܐ ܠܐܒܘܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܒܘܟ ܕܒܟܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܪܥ ܠܟ ❊ ܠܡܐ ܚܒܝܒܝ ܐܠܦ ܠܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܨܠܝ ܒܟܣܝܐ ܒܫܥܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܢ ܬܗܘ ܕܠܬܐ ܣܟܪ ❊ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܫܪܚ ܠܟ ❊ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ❊ ܐܡܪ ❊ ܨܠܝ ܒܟܣܝܐ ❊ ܒܫܥܬ ❊ ܨܠܘܬܐ ❊ ❊ ❊

Nineveh[488], Dadisho[489], *et al.* As it is seen, the *madbḥā* in a church is the place of sacrifice as well as the symbol of presence of God[490]. The *KM* too presents the heart as a *madbḥā* because of the sacrifice happening and of the presence of Lord there. It is already discussed about the presence of Lord in the heart while dealing with the indwelling of Christ in the «inner man». Hence in this section focus is more on the sacrifice or worship that makes a heart a *madbḥā*.

Dwellers», in V. WIMBUSH, *Ascetic Behavoiur*, 66-80. The critical edition puts this homily under *Sermone* II and provides line numbers. This study follows the same division.

[487] In this homily the author presents the bodies of the ascetics who emptied themselves as temples and their minds as altars. See certain passages from the homily, a) *Sermo* II, 97-98: «ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ − ܗܘ ܕܪܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܒܝܥܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ (Their bodies are temples of the Spirit − their minds are churches)», E. BECK, ed., *Sermones*, IV, 18; English trans., «On Hermits and Desert Dwellers», in V. WIMBUSH, *Ascetic Behavoiur*, 70; b) *Sermo* II, 491-492: «ܘܠܐ ܒܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ − ܗܘ ܕܡܬܒܢܝ ܒܗ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ (And instead of a church building − they becomes temples of the Holy Spirit)», E. BECK, ed., *Sermones*, IV, 27; English trans., «On Hermits and Desert Dwellers», in V. WIMBUSH, *Ascetic Behavoiur*, 79; c) *Sermo* II, 493: « ܠܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܓܘ ܪܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܒܝܥܬܐ (Instead of altars they have their minds)», E. BECK, ed., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones*, IV, 27; English trans., «On Hermits and Desert Dwellers», in V. WIMBUSH, *Ascetic Behavoiur*, 79.

[488] In *Homily* XXII: *On Various [Experiences] during Prayer* he says: «Prayer is unclean when it has mingled in with it one of the passions, or some distraction − this is because it has brought to the altar of the Lord an animal which is not permitted, the altar being the heart, that spiritual pillar», for Syriac text cf. BEDJAN, P., ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita*, 167; English trans., *Mystic Tratises by Isaac of Nineveh*, tr. A. J. Wensinck, 113. Here the English translation is of Brock that he used in one of his articles, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Fire from Heaven», 241.

[489] In the *Commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah*, Discourse VII, 13 he says:
ܐܝܟ ܕܒܢܝ ܕܝܫܪܝܠ ܒܙܒܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܩܪܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܘܕܟܠ ܒܗܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܘܡ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܗ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܠܒܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܢܝ ܕܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܒܣܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܣܠܩ

3.3.2 Sacrifice or Worship

It is already mentioned that an *ʿēdtā* is the divine abode as well as a place of worship. According to the *KM*, the individual as an *ʿēdtā* too has both of these functions. Here the priest as well as the place of worship is the person. While speaking about the nature of sacrifice that happens in this church there is a beautiful illustration in the *KM*:

> When we are in that great humility and honor all men, great and small, there will be revealed to us that Church which is in heaven and that altar which is in Spirit on which we shall sacrifice (ܩܪܒ) praise by prayer of the heart (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܐ) and supplication of our bodies (ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܢ)[491].

From the quoted passage it can be inferred that both *hayklā*, *i.e.* «body» as well as *madbḥā*, *i.e.* «heart» have to participate in the sacrifice that takes place in the Church of the heart, through «supplication» and «prayer» respectively.

a) *The Supplication of the Body*

The participation of body in the sacrifice is described by the *KM* as the ܒܥܘܬܐ / *bāʿutā*. The term *bāʿutā*[492] means ‘petition’, ‘consolation’, ‘begging’, ‘beseeching', *etc.* [493]. It is interesting to note that the *Old Syriac Gospels* use this term in a sense of ‘consolation’ in Luke 2:25 and 6:24[494]. What is the intention of the author of the *KM* while he speaks about the *bāʿutā* of body? See one more passage in which the term *bāʿutā* is used:

> As long as you are in this world, toil and run and make supplication with fasting, prayer, vigil, petition (*bāʿutā*), asceticism, lowliness, love, celibacy,

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[491] PS III, 289[5-10](12,2):
ܠ ܟܠܝܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܝܩܪܐ ܕܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܘܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܩܪܒ ܫܒܚܐ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܐ ܘܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܓܫܡܝ ܕܒܗ ܢܩܪܒ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܕܒܗ ܢܬܓܠܐ ܠܢ ܗܝ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܗܝ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܐ ❖ ܘܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܓܫܡܝ ❖

[492] It derives from ܒܥ which means ‘to strive after’, ‘to request’, ‘to seek’, *etc*., cf. Sokoloff, 169.

[493] Cf. Sokoloff, 169.

[494] *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe:The Curetonian Version*, I, F.C. BURKITT, ed., ܡܠ, ܢܚ. The Greek text uses the term παράκλησις, while the *Peshitta* ܥܙܝ.

poverty, sufferings, truth and knowledge so that you may live forever and ever[495].

In this passage *bā'utā* is there with a series of ascetical practices expected to be done by a person while living in this world through the potentials of one's body. In the homily falsely attributed to Ephrem *On Hermits and Desert Dwellers* there are three brief passages those narrate the involvement of body in sacrifice.

And their prayer is pure incense[496] − and their tears are fragrant smoke[497].

Their groaning is like the oblation − and their psalmody like joyous melodies − their sighs are pearls − and their modesty is like beryl[498].

When their tears stream down − they banish harm from the earth −and when their petition is raised − it fills the world with assistance[499].

All the ascetical practices narrated in these passages demand much effort on the part of one's body which can be equated to the pain of sacrifice. The intensity of such physical efforts in the pursuit of Perfection according to

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[495] PS III, 853[8-14](29,17):
ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܢܬ ܒܗܕ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܘܪܘܥ ܘܥܒܕ ܒܨܘܡ ܘܨܠܘܬܐ ܒܫܗܪ ܘܒܥܘܬܐ ܒܨܘܡ ܘܫܘܚܢܐ ܘܒܬܘܠܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܢܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܚܒ ܒܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܣܒܠ ܒܫܘܠܝ ܘܒܣܒܪ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܘܒܚܒ

the *KM* are already described through the crucial verbs like «to strip (ܚܠܨ)», «to subdue (ܟܒܫ)», «to be enslaved (ܥܒܕ)», «to break (ܫܒܪ)»,[500] *etc*. By quoting Rom 12:1 the author himself approves this fact:

> I appeal you, my brothers, by the gentleness and lowliness of Christ, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܚܝܐ), holy and acceptable through reasonable worship (ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ). For the thing that is killed is called a sacrifice, while something living is not called so. But because we are being killed while we are living, we are called a living sacrifice (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܚܝܐ)[501].

The author says that through the reasonable worship (ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ) we should present our bodies as a «living sacrifice». The expression «ܡܠܝܠܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ»[502] is from the Syriac version of Rom 12:1. In the *KM* the usage of the phrase «ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ» is relevant and pregnant with rich meaning. The word ܡܠܝܠܐ derives from «ܡܠܠ»[503] and means ‘eloquent’, ‘rational’, ‘pure’, ‘mental’, ‘innocent’,[504] *etc*. Hence «ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ» can be «rational worship», «pure worship», «mental worship», «worship through articulation», *etc*. The sacrifice of the body should be a «pure worship» with the involvement of reason or mind, *i.e.* it should be of the integral person in whom the «inner man / heart» and the «outer man / body» are in agreement[505]. Literally «ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ» can also mean a «worship through speech». In the immediate section it is going to see that how the verbal prayer can act as a sacrifice. The *bā‘utā* of body again involves the necessity to be diligent in the visible ministry of the Church. The participation in the visible ministry demands much from the visible faculty of the person, the body. The process of offering the bodies as a «living sacrifice» is not an easy task. But the hope to live forever in the great heavenly Church gives us the energy to proceed. As the *KM* remarks, «although we labour in these; we may have rest for ever in that great free Church in Heaven»[506].

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[500] See Chap. III, section «1.3.1 The Body (ܦܓܪ) and the Perfection».

[501] PS III, 821[22]-824[5](29,4):

ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܪܥܝܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܛܠ ܩܪܒܢܐ ܩܪܝ ܘܠܐ ܕܚܝ ܠܐ ܩܪܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܕܡܬܩܛܠܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܚܝܝܢ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܢ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܢܬܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܒܗ ܕܢܫܪܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܫܬܘܪܪ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ

b) *Prayer of the Heart*

Along with the 'supplication' (*bā'utā*) of body, the author of the *KM* presents the «prayer of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܨܠܬܐ)»[507] as a sacrifice. In Ps 141:2 the «prayer» is presented in the context of «sacrifice» and in a way associated with the sacrifice: «Let my prayer be counted as incense before you, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice». After the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD there followed the cessation of sacrifices and the Jews inclined more to consider prayer as a sacrifice[508] and the concept is passed into Syriac writers[509]. The author of the *KM* speaks not about the vocal prayer, but the prayer happening in the heart. The concept, the «prayer of the heart (ܠܒܐ ܨܠܬܐ)» is not his invention, but a traditional usage. What is this «prayer of the heart» and is there any biblical foundation for it?

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[507] The role of the heart in spiritual life is already seen in Chap. III, section 1.3.2 a) The Purity and the Luminosity».

[508] In the prayer of Solomon during the dedication of Temple, it is written that he prayed to God that if Jews get captured and taken away from Israel, He should hear their prayers, even when they were not at the Temple, cf. 1Kgs 8:46-49. When the first Holy temple was destroyed there existed no place to bring sacrifices and they started to offer verbal prayer as sacrifice, cf. Hos 14:3. When the restored Temple was destroyed in 70 AD, the practice of sacrifice was stopped and the Jews were obliged to substitute prayer for sacrifice, the concept which was already there in their tradition, cf. P. ZALESKI − C. ZALESKI, *Prayer: A History*, 81-83. There are several scriptural verses those support that daily sacrifices in temple was transferred to prayer, cf. Luke 1:10; Acts 3:1.

[509] Isaac of Nineveh calls prayer as accepted sacrifice in *Part III*, Chap. IX, 15^6: «ܥܡ ܨܠܬܐ ܕܡܩܒܠܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܗܘ (through prayer which is the accepted sacrifice)», S. CHIALÀ, ed., *Isacco di Ninive. Terza Collezione*, 65. In Part II, Chap. XIV, 20^3 there is an expression «ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܨܠܬܐ (altar of prayer)» which throws light on the sacrificial dimension of prayer, cf. S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*, 62. The term altar (ܡܕܒܚܐ) is much related to the concept of sacrifice. Hence the expression the «altar of Prayer» itself affirms prayer as a sacrifice. In the homily *On Hermits and Desert Dwellers*, prayer is metaphorically identified with ܩܘܪܒܢܐ, a diffused term used for sacrifice and in Syriac churches it refers to the Eucharistic celebration. See *Serm* II, 494-495: «ܐܝܟ ܩܘܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܨܠ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ (as sacrifices / oblations their prayers are offered to the Godhead)», E. BECK, ed., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones* IV, 27; English trans., «On Hermits and Desert Dwellers», in V. WIMBUSH, *Ascetic Behavoiur*, 79; cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Spirituality of the Heart», 99.

It is not possible to have its basis in LXX, however in the *Peshitta* in Book of Sirach it is written that «Let him decide to pray in his heart»[510]. In the NT, Matt 6:6 alludes to the same concept. In an above mentioned section it is seen that in patristic exegesis the «inner chamber» mentioned in Matt 6:6 is «heart» itself[511]. In Isaac of Niveveh[512] and in Martyrius' or Sahdona's[513] *Book of Perfection*[514] there are passages with the expression the «prayer of the heart». Aphrahat equates «prayer of the heart» with «purity of the heart»:

> Purity of heart constitutes prayer more than do all the prayers that are uttered out aloud, and silence united to mind that is luminous is better than the loud voice of someone crying out[515].

The *KM* never equates the «prayer of the heart» with «purity of the heart». However, from his discriptions about the purity of the heart[516], it is easy to infer that he affirms such an association. While speaking about the fruits of the «Church of the heart» he mentions the revelation of «heavenly Church» and its realities. It is known that those who are pure in their heart can see invisible heavenly realities. However, how it happens is not very clear in the *KM*. The *Book of Perfection* of Martyrius (Sahdona), fills that gap:

> If the commencement of our prayer is wakeful and attentive, and we wet our cheeks with tears stemming from stirring our hearts, then our prayer will be made perfect, in accordance with God's wish; being without blemish, it will be

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[510] Sir 39:6: «ܢܨܠ ܠܡܪܗ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܠܒܗ». In LXX there is no mention about prayer that happens in heart and it reads: ἐν προσευχῇ ἐξομολογήσεται κυρίῳ (in prayer give thanks to the Lord). Here *Peshitta* varies from the LXX.

[511] See this Chapter, section «3.3.1 b) The Dwelling of Christ in One's Inner man».

[512] Cf. P. BEDJAN, ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita*, 190[18]; 304[4], 546[17]; *Part* II, Chap. XIV, 14[2], 22[5] in S.P. BROCK, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh. The Second Part*, 60, 62.

[513] He was a monk of the Monastery of Beth 'Abe (early 7th cent.) and the bishop of Beth Garmai. Out of his monastic writings the *Book of Perfection*, five letters to his fellow monks, and a set of spiritual maxims are survived. For more details about him, cf. S.P. Brock, «Sahdona(Martyrius)», 356; ID., *Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 198-201.

[514] See part II of the *Book of* Perfection, in Chap. XIII, 7: «ܨܠܘܬܐ ܟܣܝܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ (hidden prayer of the heart)», MARTYRIUS (SAHDONA), *Book of Perfection*, II in A. DE HALLEUX, ed., *Œuvres Spirituelles III, Livre de la Perfection, 2me Partie (CH 8-14)*, 131[3-4].

[515] PS I, 137[1-4](IV,1):

ܕܡܢ ܫܪܝܪ ܠܒܐ ܢܦܩ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܦܘܡܐ ܘܫܬܝܩܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܥܡ ܡܚܫܒܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܩܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܨܗܝܢ ܒܦܘܡ ܪܡ ܘܡܬܬܩܢ ܠܦܘܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܣܪ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܬܪ ܒܗ ܡܘܡ ❊

[516] See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 a) + The Purity and the Luminosity».

accepted in his presence, and the Lord will be pleased with us and have delight in our offering. As he perceives the pleasing scent (cf. Gen 8:21) of our heart's pure fragrance, he will send the fire of his Spirit to consume our sacrifices and raise up our mind along with them in the flames to heaven. Then we shall behold the Lord, to our delight and not to our destruction, as the stillness of his revelation (cf. Gen 15:12) falls upon us and the hidden things of the knowledge of him will be portrayed in us; our hearts will be given spiritual joy, along with the hidden mysteries which I am unable to disclose in words to the simple. In this way we make our bodies a living, holy and acceptable sacrifice, one that pleases God in our rational service (cf. Rom 12:1)[517].

Even though not in the context of prayer or offering there is a similar passage in the *KM* which affirms the ascension of mind of the «Perfect»:

Thus he grows daily and is fattened, delighting and rejoicing in the Spirit, until he arrives at the measure of the spiritual angels (ܡܫܘܝ ܡܝܬ ܡܫܥܐ). Then Our Lord will come and take him away completely from this world, as he already took away his mind and introduced it into Paradise, and there, in the heavenly Jerusalem will be his dwelling place… Such is the dwelling with Our Lord, which has been ordained for the humble and meek and holy, who are the inhabitants of the City of Life (ܡܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ), who perform the good, acceptable and perfect will of Our Lord, while praying that the will of God be done by those on earth as it is done by those in heaven[518].

From the comparison of the passages mentioned above, one important fact should be noted. The diffused theme of the descent of the «fire from

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[517] Part II, Chap. VIII, 20:
ܢܥܒܕ ܗܟ ܚܠ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܟܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ❖ ܡܠܠܐ

MARTYRIUS (SAHDONA), *Book of Perfection*, II in A. DE HALLEUX, ed., *Œuvres Spirituelles III, Livre de la Perfection, 2^me^ Partie (CH 8-14)*, 7[16-28]; English trans., S.P. BROCK, *Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 210-211.

[518] PS III, 144[5-14. 19-24](6,2):
ܡܫܘܝ ܡܝܬ ܡܫܥܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܥ ܕܟܬ ܕܡܫܬ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܒܐ ܕܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܡܝܠܐ ❖ ܡܠܠܐ

heaven» on the offering of the prayer made on the altar of the heart[519] for consuming the sacrifice that present in Sahdona is not seen in the *KM*. The passage from the *KM* can be considered as the summary of all the spiritual processes that are narrated in the *KM* to achieve the state of Perfection and even beyond that state. All the steps narrated in this passage are already mentioned in this study; the characteristic of angelic state, the state in which one's mind can dwell above while living in this visible world, and the long process of ascetical practices that needed to perfect oneself to reach at the state of the spiritual angels to receive the permission to dwell with the Lord in the City of life, *etc*. While Sahdona speaks about the descent of the fire of the Spirit to consume the prayer of the pure heart as a sacrifice, the *KM* narrates the descend of the Lord to take away the person in his totality. Here the usual emphasis of the *KM* on the integrity of the person is affirmed once again. The person who arrived at the measure of the spiritual angels, *i.e.* the «Perfect» in his totality is the pleasing sacrifice to the Lord.

c) *The Baptism with Fire and the Spirit*

The *KM* speaks about the possibilities of being baptized in «waters», «fire and Spirit»[520]. The contrast is again between the visible and the invisible. It speaks about the people who can be «baptized in fire and Spirit which are invisible»[521]. At the same time the author is very particular to emphasize the need to be baptized visibly in the Church. He strongly affirms that «without this visible baptism a person cannot be baptized with fire and the Spirit»[522]. What is this 'baptism with water' (ܡܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ)

[519] For the description of the theme with reference to various Syriac writers like, Aphrahat, Sahdona, *et al*., cf. S.P. BROCK, «Fire from Heaven», 229-243.

[520] There is an anonymous untitled work found among the texts in Nag Hammadi Library in Codex II and Codex XIII that speaks about three baptisms. The later scholars assigned the document a hypothetical title; *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II_5 and $XIII_2$ – also known as *Writing without Title*). It could possibly from the early 4th cent., and have a remarkable Gnostic mixture of Jewish, Manichean, Christian, Greek philosophical, magical, mythological, views. In its section 122 it speaks about three baptisms: «There are three men and also his posterities unto consummation of the world: the spirit-endowed of eternity, and the soul endowed and the earthly... so too are three baptism – the first is the spiritual, the second is by fire, the third is by water», *On the Origin of the World*, tr. H.-G. Bethge – B. Layton, 186.

[521] PS III, 296[12-13](12, 4): ܟܕ ܡܬܥܒܕ ܒܡܝ ܘܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝ

[522] PS III, 296[15-17](12,4):

ܕܠܐ ܡܬܥܒܕ ܒܡܝ ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝ ܠܐ ܢܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝ

which is visible and 'baptism with fire and the Spirit' (ܥܡܕܐ ܥܡܕܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ)[523] which is invisible?

While Mark 1:8 and John 1:33 speak about baptism with the Holy Spirit alone, the expression «baptism with / in Holy Spirit and fire» is found in Matt 3:11 and in Luke 3:16. Since the coming of the Spirit is likened to tongues of fire in Acts 2:2-4 «in Holy Spirit and fire» could be a single action. At the same time it can be two actions. In Matt 3:10.12 'fire' is associated with judgment and punishment. In OT too 'fire' is associated with purification and judgment (cf. Mal 3:1-6. 4:1; Isa 42:2-5). According to E. Ferguson «probability inclines toward separating the baptism in Holy Spirit from the baptism of fire. Even if grammatically the two baptisms are linked, they may be temporally distinct: possibly a baptism inaugurated in the Spirit and consummated in fire»[524]. The corpus of Pseudo-Macarius which has some parallels with *KM*[525] too speaks about «baptism of Holy Spirit and fire (τό βάπτισμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ πυρός)»[526]. What are these three baptisms in the *KM*? There is a brief passage in the *KM* which provides the clear definitions for the «waters», «fire» and «Spirit»:

> If they are inclined to sin after they have been baptized, each time that they repent love is found them to be baptized and purified. Just as when vessels of gold or of silver, brass, glass or iron are broken, the transitory craftsman puts them into the physical fire, making them new and mending their features, and they are called new ones (ܚܕ̈ܬܬ) after they had been worn out – how much more will God, the master craftsman, so that he might make them new (ܚܕ̈ܬ ܠܢ) in the fire that is love and his Spirit that is truth and his waters that are faith?[527]

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[523] PS III, 296[12](12,4).

[524] E. FERGUSON, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 91.

[525] See section 3.6.2 of this Chapter for further details about this corpus as well as for its similarity with the *KM*.

[526] *Ps-Mac.Hom.* XXVI, 3: line no. 308-309; *Ibid.*, XLVII, 1: line no. 11, in H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, eds., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 216. 304; English trans., G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 172. 232.

[527] PS III, 717[16]-720[2](24,2):

ܟܕ ܥܡܠ ܐܢ ܫܒܩ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܬܒ ܒܗ ܒܥܕ ܕܬܒ ܐܬ ܕ

The author equates fire with love (ܚܒܐ), Spirit with truth (ܫܪܪܐ) and the waters with faith (ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ). He describes them as the means used by God to make us new. However it is very hard to determine what was his intention when he speaks about the «baptism with fire and the Spirit». Is it one action or separate? It is notable that differing from the Gospels, he places «fire» first and then «Spirit». In a different context the author says that «Just as someone has faith he loves, when he has loved he becomes perfect, when he is perfected he will reign (ܟܕ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܚܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܚܒ ܗܘ ܐܬܓܡܪ ܗܘ ܐܬܓܡܪ ܫܪܐ ܗܘ)»[528]. Hence it is easy to infer that the baptism with water, fire and Spirit are three stages of one's spiritual growth. The author presents the fire as the purifying love of the Lord. It is clearly mentioned in the *KM*:

> If we should slip after we are baptized and repent there is the love of Jesus, a living fire (ܢܘܪܐ ܚܝܐ) that will cleanse our dirt and our foulness. He will travail and give birth to us anew (ܡܬܝܠܕ ܠ ܚܕܬ) and will sign us as at the beginning (ܡܨܝܪ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܠ ܩܕܡ)»[529].

The «baptism with fire» can be considered as a metaphorical expression to describe the penitential services that a person receives under the visible ministery of the Church. The renewal of the «sign» as at the beginning refers to the renewal of a priestly sign (ܩܕܡ) that a person received in the context of baptism[530]. Hence «baptism with fire» can refer to all the ascetical practices that a person performs to reach at the state of perfection under the guidance of the visible Church. If so, the expressions the «Church of the heart» as well as the process to becoming a «church», both are conveying the same sense of the journey of spiritual maturity.

In the context of the entire text of the *KM* the «baptism with Spirit» can be considered as the culminating state that will be given to one who reaches the pure state of Perfection. The author equated the Spirit with «truth (*šrārā*)». The technical nature of the term *šrārā* in the context of symbolic theology is already seen in this study[531]. From the previous chapters it is known that when one reaches out to have the Paraclete, the fullness of the Spirit, he will be led to the «whole truth» and in effect the knowledge of

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[528] PS III, 296[13-15](12,4).

[529] PS III, 720[6-10](24,2):

ܢܘܪܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܬܢܩܐ ܥܦܪܗ ܘܡܚܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܚܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܢ ܚܕܬ ܘܢܣܝܡ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܫ ܡܨܝܪ ❊

[530] The concept is already discussed in this Chapter, section «3.2.2. b) Baptism».

[531] See section 1.2.5 of this Chapter.

truth will lead him to the participation in it which will happen in the life after resurrection, in other words in the heavenly Church[532]. Hence baptism with 'water', 'fire' and 'Spirit' are not three momentary instances, rather a gradual growth. It is quite right to associate 'baptism with water' and the 'visible Church', 'baptism with fire' and the 'Church of the heart' and 'baptism with the Spirit' and the 'heavenly Church'. One cannot skip one level to enter into the next level. Without accepting the visible Church and its ministries one cannot have the baptism of fire and the experience of the Church of the heart. Baptism of Spirit will lead one to that Spirit which is the «Truth (*šrārā*)»; in other words to the Church of Heaven where one can participate in the «Truth».

3.4 *The Church in Heaven*

According to the *KM*, the true Church is that in heaven. The revealed Church on earth is only the 'likeness or image' (ܕܡܘܬܐ) of that in heaven[533]. The 'Church that in heaven' is presented as the dwelling place of those who have reached at the «measure of spiritual angels» and are taken by the Lord completely from this world. It is already seen in the Chapter II[534]. The «Perfect» of the *KM* can only anticipate this future abode while living in this world. Only their minds can dwell there. A close reading of the work is needed to see how the author depicts that true Church which is revealing in the visible Church.

3.4.1 The Architectural Structure

While speaking about the architectural structure of the heavenly Church, the author uses the *'ēdtā-madbḥā* pair in parallel to *hayklā-madbḥā* pair of the «Church of the heart» and of the «visible Church»:

> We shall live forever in that free great heavenly Church, and in that altar (ܡܕܒܚܐ) that is adorned and erected by the Spirit, before which the angels and all the saints minister (ܡܫܡܫܢ) and Jesus acts as priest and effects the

[532] See Chap. III, section «1.3.3 b) The Knowledge of Whole Truth (ܕܥܬ ܫܠܡ).
[533] Cf. PS III, 797^{10}-800^{2}(28,8).
[534] See Chap.II, section «1.1.3 The Eschatological Perfection».

consecration (ܡܚܢܦܐ ܩܕܫ), before them, above them and every side of them[535].

This study already explored these three terms *ʿēdtā*, *hayklā*, and *madbḥā* and their significances. Here the *madbḥā* of the Church in heaven is said to be adorned and established by the Spirit and the Priest who offers the sacrifice on this *madbḥā* is no one else but the true Priest Jesus Christ.

3.4.2 Liturgy

The above mentioned passage beautifully narrates the liturgy taking place in the heavenly Church. The belief in the heavenly liturgy is a diffused theme[536]. The text presnts three participants viz., Jesus, angels (ܡܠܐܟܐ) and holy persons (ܩܕܝܫܐ). The expression «ܡܥܡܕ ܡܚܢܦܐ ܩܕܫ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ» clearly explains that Jesus is the Priest who is presiding at the heavenly liturgy. The two verbs «ܢܦܚ» and «ܩܕܫ» are used to narrate Jesus' priestly ministry. At the same time the participation of angels and holy people are expressed through the verb «ܥܡܕ». All these three verbs are very much related to priestly ministry and liturgy.

a) 'to hover over' (ܢܦܚ)

The verb «ܢܦܚ» is the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew verb «רחף»[537]. The major occurrence of this verb is in Gen 1:2 and the *Peshitta* retains the orginal verb and its significance as such to describe the action of *rūḥā*

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[535] PS III, 288[8-14](12,1):
ܫܟ ܠܟܠ ܟܠܡܝ ܟܝ ܟܘܢܝܬ ܟܬܒܬ ܕܡܕ ܟܥܒܕ ܟܚܝ ܟܚܝ ܟܚܝܟ ,ܟܡ ܡܥܡܕ ܚܝ ܟܝ ܟܘܢܝܬ ܟܬܒܬ ܕܡܕ ܟܥܒܕ ܟܚܝ ܟܚܝ ܟܚܝ ,ܡܥܡܕ ܡܚܢܦܐ ܩܕܫ ܕܡܕ ܟܥܒܕ ܡܥܡܕ ,ܕܡܕ ܡܠܐ ,

(spirit) over the primordial water[538]. This verb originally describes the action of a mother bird hovering over its young ones to protect them[539]. In Deut 32:11 the verb ܪܚܦ is used to refer to God's care for the people in the desert. There, God is compared to an eagle that watches and hovers over its little ones[540]. Since it was a usual practice among Syrians to consider the Holy Spirit as mother, it is quite normal that along with many other feminine imageries, this verb is used to describe the hovering of the Holy Spirit. Thus both the verb ܪܚܦ and the noun ܪܚܘܝܐ passed into Syriac tradition as a term for the activity of the Holy Spirit[541]. The verbal noun «ܪܚܘܝܐ» became a common term to refer to the action of the Holy Spirit in Baptism, Eucharist and Holy Order. Its usage is there in many Syriac writings in the sacramental context [542]. Hence it is clear that by using this

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[538] Gen 1:2 in *Peshitta*: «ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܚܦܐ ܥܠ ܦܢܝ ܡܝܐ (The Spirit of God was hovering over the surfaces of the waters)». For the significance of this verb in biblical and Syriac commentary tradition, cf. S.P. BROCK, «*The Ruaḥ Elōhīm* of Gen 1,2», 327-339; E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, «Feminine Maternal Images», 171. In the LXX the word used is ἐπεφέρετο (indicative imperfect masculine third person singular) which means «was carried / was moved upon» derived from the verb επιφέρω ('bring upon', 'lay upon', *etc*.), cf. C.L.W. GRIMM – C.G. WILKE, *Greek – English Lexicon: Grimm's Wilke's Clavis*, tr. – rv. J.H. Thayer, 246.

[539] The derivatives of ܪܚܡ [*e.g.* ܪܚܝܡ - pitiful, compassionate] are used to indicate the idea of compassion of God as a feminine maternal quality, cf. Payne Smith, 301; S.P. BROCK, «*The Ruaḥ Elōhīm* of Gen 1,2», 328; for the OT and NT references, cf. Deut 33:12; Isa 63:9; Zech 12:10; Jas 5:11.

[540] Cf. E. KANIYAMPARAMPIL, «Feminine Maternal Images», 171.

[541] S.P. Brock treated this word and its usage in the Liturgy, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Invocations to / for the Holy Spirit», 395-397.

[542] Cf. S.P. BROCK, «The Holy Spirit as Feminine», 82; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of the Church*, 144, 264 f.no. 3. For the extracts from the Syriac liturgical texts using this term, cf. S.P. BROCK, «Invocations to / for the Holy Spirit», 401-406. In Syriac writings its usage can be seen in all the three instances of Baptism, Eucharist and Ordination. The *Hymns on Epiphany* attributed to Ephrem witness its usage in the context of baptism, see the *HEpiph* VI, 1^{1-3} :

ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܐܬܩܕܫ ܒܡܝܐ ܒܡܪܚܦܢܘܬܗ / ܘܒܡܥܡܕܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܐ ܫܪܐ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܘ / ܗܫܐ ܕܢܚ ܘܫܪܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ❊

«The Spirit came down from above and sanctified waters by His hovering / In the baptism of John He passed by the rest and abode on the One / But now He has descended and abides in all that are born from waters.», E. BECK, ed., *De Ephiphania*, 160. For the usage of «ܪܚܡ» in the context of Eucharist see Ephrem's *Hymns on Faith*, *HFid* X, 16-17:

ܚܝܪ ܕܒܥܝ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܫܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ / ܕܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܟܐܦ ܕܐܦ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ /
ܘܒܫܠܡ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܟܡ / ܕܒܫܬܐ ܫܪܝ ܟܐܦ ܥܠ / ܐܡܪ ܒܫܡ ܡܪܝ

verb the author affirms the priestly identity of Jesus in the heavenly Church.

b) 'to serve as a priest' (ܫܡܫ)

The next verb is «ܫܡܫ» which means 'to be or serve as a priest', 'to fulfill the priestly office', 'to offer sacrifice as a priest', 'to offer up sacrifice', 'to ordain a priest', 'to consecrate'[543], *etc*. The terms related to clerical ministry like «priest (ܟܗܢܐ)», «priesthood (ܟܗܢܘܬܐ or ܟܗܢܘܬܐ)»[544] *etc*., are derived from this verb. The usage of this verb in the above quoted passage from the *KM* explicitly speaks about the priesthood of Christ.

c) 'to serve' (ܫܡܫ)

The next two participants are the angels and all the holy persons. It is said that they «minister (ܡܫܡܫܢܝܢ)». The verb ܫܡܫ means 'to serve', 'to minister', 'to attend to', 'to perform the duties of an office', 'to administer', *etc*[545]. The noun from this root ܫܘܡܫܢܐ, is also there in the *KM*. Even though its literal meaning is 'service', 'rite', 'worship', 'administration',[546] *etc*., it stands as a technical word to denote the liturgical celebrations. There are several expressions from the context of Liturgy like, «Administration of Holy Communion (ܫܘܡܫܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ)», «Eucharistic celebration (ܫܘܡܫܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ)»; «matins (ܫܘܦܪ ܫܘܡܫܢܐ)»; «vespers (ܫܘܡܫ ܫܘܡܫܢܐ)», «burial service (ܫܘܡܫ ܥܠ ܫܘܡܫܢܐ)», *etc*., those include this term. Different ecclesiastical administrations also use this term, *viz*., «Priestly

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ܫܘܡܫ ܫܠܝܛ /ܒܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܠܐ /ܒܝܕ ܚܒܝܒܘ ܢܚܬ ܘܪܚܦ ܕܠܐ ܫܟܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܒܡܥܡܕܢ ܘܒܡܫܚܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܦܬܝܬܐ ܘܒܟܣܐ ✣ ܒܡܥܡܕܢ ܘܒܡܫܚܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ✣

«See the hidden power behind the veil of the Holy Spirit / A power which the mind has never contained / His love bent down, descended and hovered / Over the veil of the altar of reconciliation / Behold the fire and the Spirit in the womb which bore you / Behold the fire and the Spirit in the river in which you were baptized. Fire and Spirit are in our baptism / Fire and the Holy Spirit are in the bread and the cup», E. BECK, ed., *De Fide*, 51; English trans., *The Hymns on Faith*, J.T. Wickes, tr., 124. In *Hymns on Nisibis* Ephrem uses this term to speak about priesthood, *i.e.* the laying on of the hands on the one who is consecrated as a priest, see *HNis* XIX, 2[3]: «ܫܡܫ ܒܝܕ ܘܒܚܪ ܐܢܬ (Hand hovered over and chose you)», cf. E. BECK, ed., *Carmina Nisibena*, I, 50.

[543] Payne Smith, 206; Sokoloff, 601.

[544] Cf. Sokoloff, 601-602.

[545] Cf. Payne Smith, 585.

[546] Cf. Payne Smith, 622.

ministry (ܫܘܬܦܢܐ ܫܘܫܒܦܐ)», «Patriarchal office (ܫܘܫܒܦܐ ܫܘܚܢܝܫܐ)»[547]. The term for «deacon (ܫܡܫܡܢܐ)» is also a derivation from its root[548]. The *KM* uses this verb to refer to the ministry of the Church in this world[549], to describe the cult in the heavenly Church[550], to speak about the «ministry of the Word of God»[551], *etc*.

3.4.3 Characteristics

The «heavenly Church» is the abode of the «Perfect» of the *KM* after their departure from this world. There are several expressions referring to this abode, *viz*., «distant lands (ܫܘܡܝܐ ܫܘܚܝܩ)»[552], «great and exalted place (ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܫܕܝ ܫܝܫܩ)»[553], «great and glorious place (ܫܕܝ ܫܝܫܩ ܫܘܒܚܦܐ)»[554], «new world (ܫܘܫܝ ܫܘܚܠ)»[555], «great world (ܫܕܝ ܫܘܚܠ)»[556], «glorious place (ܫܘܒܚ ܫܝܫܩ)»[557], «house of the Father (ܫܘܩ ܒܝܫ)»[558], «house of the Lord (ܫܝܦܐ ܡܒܝܫ)»[559], «house of God (ܫܡܠܫܐ ܡܒܝܫ)»[560], «place of tranquility (ܫܒܫܐ ܫܝܫܩ)»[561], «great place of peace, holiness and love (ܫܘܫܐ ܫܘܒܫܒܐ ܫܒܫܐ ܫܕܝ ܫܝܫܩ)»[562], «House of life / salvation (ܫܒܝ ܒܝܫ)»[563], «place of life / salvation (ܫܒܫܐ ܫܝܫܩ)»[564], «place of rest

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[547] Cf. Payne Smith, 622.

[548] Cf. Payne Smith, 308.

[549] PS III, 288[26]-289[2](12,2):

ܫܡܒܒܦܝ ܒܝܫ ܡܒܘܫ ܒܝ ܫܘܒܝܦܐ ܫܝܦܝ ܫܐܡ ܦܡܩ ܐ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܫܚ

«Let us open and enter into this visible Church with its priesthood and its ministry».

[550] The same verb ܒܝܫ is used to describe the act of worship of angels and saints in heaven, cf. PS III, 288[10-11](12,1).

[551] PS III, 60[23](3,7): «ܫܡܠܫܐ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܫܘܒܚܦܐ». The verb ܒܝܫ is used to describe the service offered to Lord by Simon and Mary, the sister of Martha, cf. *Ibid*., 81[3-5](3,16).

[552] PS III, 36[24-25](2,5).

[553] PS III, 56[3](3,6).

[554] PS III, 449[23-24](19,2).

[555] PS III, 261[4](10,6); 385[1-2](15,20); 525[13](19,40).

[556] PS III, 261[7](10,7).

[557] PS III, 264[25](10,8).

[558] PS III, 264[26](10,8).

[559] PS III, 309[4.5](13,2); 513[12](19,36); 524[9](19,39); 533[4](20,4).

[560] PS III, 464[8.14](19,7).

[561] PS III, 380[21](15,18).

[562] PS III, 521[1-2](19,38).

[563] PS III, 384[1](15,18); 540[9-10](20,6); 569[8](20,14); 816[1](29,2); 832[4](29,8); 841[9](29,11).

[564] PS III, 461[2](19,6); 513[15-16](19,36).

(ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)»[565], «house that is in heaven (ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ)»[566], «world of truth and glory (ܥܠܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܘܫܒܚܐ)»[567], «bridal chamber of Our Lord (ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܐ)»[568], «His bridal chamber of Kingdom (ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ)»[569], «world of light (ܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ)»[570], *etc*. All these imageries are alluding to the intimate relation of a person with the Lord that can be enjoyed at the level when one reaches the state beyond «Perfection»[571] and thus to the state of being in the Church of heaven. The heavenly Church is presented as the source «from which originates everything that is beautiful and from where light shines on us on all sides»[572]. There the Lord can be seen «face to face (ܦܢܝܢ ܠܡܘܠ ܦܢܝܢ)»[573]. The *KM* strongly affirms the ever shining presence of Our Lord in the Church of the heaven:

> Blessed is he who enters into that Church in heaven, on which Our Lord shines publically, as this visible sun dawns on this visible Church and on these temples of body. How many times will this Sun set on these? The light of the face of Our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ does not depart from that which is above. For even though Our Lord is in every place, he is seen openly in that heavenly Church[574].

The *KM* uses several adjectives to narrate the Heavenly Church. It is great (ܪܒܬܐ), and free (ܚܐܪܬܐ) and presented as «higher church (ܥܕܬܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ)», «hidden Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܟܣܝܬܐ)»[575], «Church at the height (ܥܕܬܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ)»[576], and the «mother of all baptized (ܐܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)»[577]. To

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[565] PS III, 461[8](19,6); 520[19-20](19,38).
[566] PS III, 429[19](17,9).
[567] PS III, 444[14-15](18,5).
[568] PS III, 513[12.15.16](19,36); 568[10.12](20,14).
[569] PS III, 540[15-16](20,6).
[570] PS III, 588[22](21,2).
[571] See Chap. II, section «1.1.3 The Eschatological Perfection».
[572] PS III, 292[13-16](12,2):
ܡܢ ܕܒܗ ܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܝ ܫܪܪ ܡܪܢ ܒܓܠܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܗܢܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܨܦܪ̈ܐ ܗܢ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܗܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܥܠ ܗܝ ܥܕܬܐ ܗܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܝܟܠ̈ܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܟܡ ܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܢܬܟܫܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܗܢ ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܪܪ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܦܢܝ ܡܪܢ ܘܡܦܫܩܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܥܠ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܓܒ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܓܠܝ ܒܗ̇ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ❖
[573] Cf. 1Cor 13:12; PS III, 36[21-22](2,5); 72[6](3,12); 296[7-8](12,4); 440[3-9](12,3); 449[6](19,2); 461[11](19,6); 516[1-2](19,36); 524[20](19,40); 801[8-24](28,10-11).
[574] PS III, 302[15-24](12,7):
ܡܛܘܒ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܗ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܠܢ ܒܓܠܝ ܒܗ̇ ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܟܡ ܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܢܬܟܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܪܪ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܡܦܫܩܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܥܠ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܓܒ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ❖ ܒܓܠܝ ܒܗ̇ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ❖
[575] PS III, 289[13-14](12,2).
[576] PS III, 289[20](12,2).
[577] PS III, 292[23](12,2).

train persons to reach at this glorious abode is the goal of the visible and the hidden ministry of the Church. While being faithful to the ministry of the visible Church, she, the blessed Mother, will elevate us to a level in which our heart become altar and our body temple. There, on that altar we will offer our bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God[578]. However, for being elevated to such a level without conforming to the patterns of this world we should transform ourselves (cf. Rom 12:1-2). This process is nothing but the process of purification of the heart or the efforts to walk towards the state of perfection, the subject matter of the *KM*. Under the training of the visible Church, when our body becomes a hidden temple, and our heart an altar and a fortress of glory, «the higher Church, its altar, its light and its priesthood (ܟܝܡܐܘ ܡܫܬܬܐ ܟܢܘܢܝܬ ܟܪܝܙ ܩܕܫܐ)» will be revealed to us[579]. As mentioned several times, it will be the eternal abode of the «Perfect» after their departure from this world where they will dwell with their Lord.

3.5 *The Unity and Diversity of the Three Grades of the Church*

The *KM* respects all the faithful and their efforts to lead a profound life within the Church. At the same time it asserts that there exists gradation in ecclesial experience. The author praises the Church at her different levels and explains her duty at each level:

> Therefore let us not despise the visible Church, for she it is who brings up all children (ܟܠܗܝ ܕܥܡܐ ܟܢܝܫܬܐ); nor let us despise that of the heart, for it is she who gives strength to all the infirm (ܟܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܠܟܠܗܝ ܟܫܠܐ), but let us long for that on high, which perfect all the saints (ܕܥܠܝܐ ܡܓܡܪ ܥܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ)[580].

It is true that the author exhorts us to desire ardently the higher Church that perfects all the saints. At the same time he admits that the same Spirit serves the Church at her three levels. Her ministry at each level is different from that of others for the sake of her children, who are at different spiritual levels.

> It is not that the Spirit that serves the visible (Church) is weaker than that Church of the heart and that of the Spirit, because the one Spirit serves the

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[578] Cf. Rom 12:1.

[579] PS III, 289[15-21](12,2).

[580] PS III, 293[17-21](12,3):
ܟܠ ܠܟ ܟܐ ܟܠܗܝ ܕܥܡܐ ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܘ ܐܢ ܟܬܫܘܫܬܐ ܟܪܝܙ ܕܠܒܐ ܠܟ ܟܚܫ ܠܟ ܟܐ ܟܠ ܟܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܟܫܠܐ ܘ ܐܢ ܟܚܫ ܟܠܒ ܟܪܝܙ ܕܠܒܐ ܘ ܐܢ ܟܬܫܘܫܬܐ ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܡܓܡܪ ܥܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ❖ ܡܓܡܪ

three of them (ܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܟܢܫܬܐ ܗܝ ܐܠܐ). The descendents of Adam, however are very weak, and if (the Church) does not instruct them as infants they are not able to receive the solid food[581].

Hence as S.P. Brock says: «The ideal is for all these three Churches to function in harmony with one another; or more strictly, for the Church on earth to function in harmony with the Church in heaven and the interior church to function in harmony with both the other two»[582]. The exhortation to attain the Church in heaven is an invitation addressed to each one of the faithful to attain the level of Perfection. The Church of Christ is 'one' and it has His glory forever. But we, her children, are at different stages or at varying spiritual levels, *i.e.* with different capacities to receive that 'Light' fully. This is the reason for the gradation in the ministry and the glory of the 'One, Catholic, Holy and Apostolic' Church of Christ.

There is life (ܚܝܐ) in each of the three Churches and their ministries, but one glory is better than another (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܚܪܢ). Whoever departs from the ministry of this [visible] Church and does not attain that [Church] of the heart and that higher [Church] departs without sins from this world (ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܬܦ ܕܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ), his good deeds accompanying him (ܥܡܗ ,ܛܒܬܗ ܕܠ ܢܫܬܟܚ) - that is beautiful (ܫܦܝܪ). Whoever departs from that [Church] of the heart, [that is] even better (ܐܚܪܢ ܝܬܝܪ). Whoever attains in his heart that heavenly Church and then departs, blessed is his spirit (ܪܘܚܗ ܙܟܝܐ) that becomes Perfect (ܡܫܠܡ ܗܘܐ) and he will go to see Our Lord face to face (ܠܡܚܙܐ ܦܢܝ ܒܦܢܝ ܠܡܪܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ) [583].

In short the Church of Christ is always 'One'. The author of the *KM* presents that reality as a *rāzā*. It is seen that according to him, a believer is a tripartite person who enjoys the capacity to experience a *rāzā* in a triple gradated way. The same is the cause behind the presentation of a triple gradated Church. The subjective experience of a person makes the one Church at three levels. Here it is notable that the author presents the Church at each level following the same pattern. Being visible and accessible to all, the Church in this world enjoys the maximum space in descriptions. The author makes it clear that the heavenly Church being the «truth» of the visible Church is in the same pattern. Hence from the level of the 'visible

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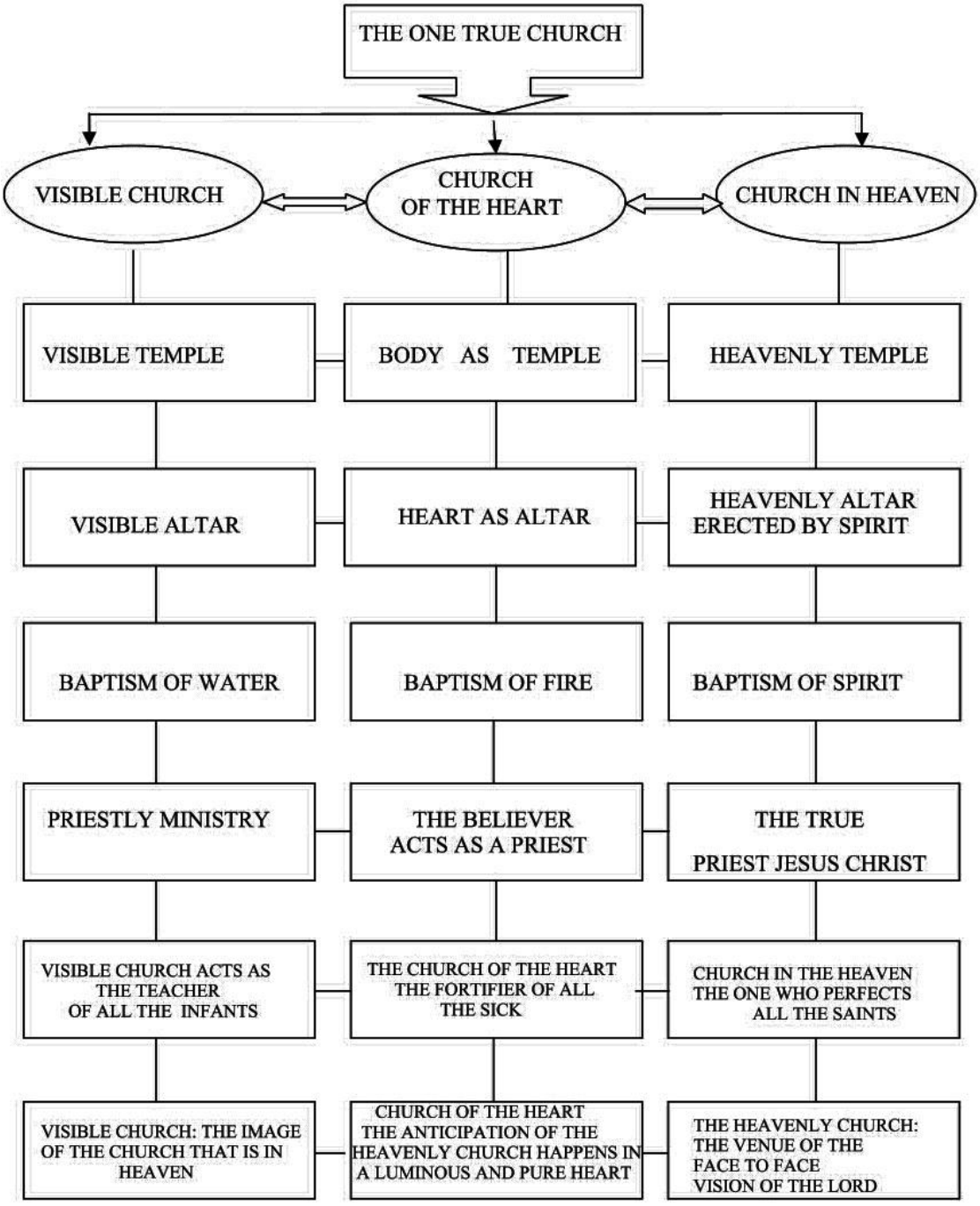
[581] PS III, 297[4-9](12,5):
ܐܢܫ ܕܐܠ ܗܘ ܒܢܝ ,ܐ ܕܡ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܢܝ ,ܐ ܕܡ ܐܠܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܟܢܫܬܐ ܗܝ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܠ

Church' one has to grow to the level of the 'Heavenly Church' through the 'Church of the heart'; both in comprehension and in participation. The *KM* can be considered as a narration of this progressive growth. It depicts this growth as an organic growth from within. A child who grows to maturity never leaves behind anything of his personality. He is there even when he will become an adult. However, according to his growth, he receives a transformation both in his body as well as in mind. The same is the fact. Those who have fostered the Church of the heart in themselves are still in the visible Church. Only through the visible Church that they can have this Church of the heart. When they could have the Church of the heart in themselves, on the altar of their heart the heavenly Church will be revealed. The experience of that heavenly Church happens in their heart while being in the bosom of the visible Church. This experience at the level of an anticipation will become a participation after their departure from this world and they will be in the heavenly Church. The following table summarizes the Characteristics of one Church at three levels throwing light on their unity.

The Triple gradated Church: A Summary



3.6 *Triple Gradated Church in Other Syrian Writers*

This section makes an attempt to analyze the writings of some other Syriac writers who hold a kind of triple gradations in their ecclesial thoughts. It can provide facts about whether the author of the *KM* is unique

in his presentation of Church in the three grades or he shares the thoughts of a common milieu.

3.6.1 Ephrem (*c*. 306-373 AD)

On several occasions Ephrem presents the believing community in three grades according to their level of spiritual growth. He presents one's spiritual journey as similar to climbing a hill with three distinct levels, *viz*., foothills (ܛܘܪܐ), slopes (ܣܬܪ), and height (ܪܡܐ)[584]. Again he depicts Paradise with three levels, and reserves each level according to the merit of the receivers: the lowest part for the penitents (ܬܚܬܝܐ), the middle for the righteous (ܡܨܥܝܐ) and the heights for the victorious (ܫܘܝ ܫܟܝ). The summit which is placed above all grades for God's presence (ܪܝܫܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ)[585]. He continues his reflection of tripartite order in his *Hymns on Paradise* while speaking about the Ark of Noah[586] and Mount Sinai[587], and concludes this hymn by saying that these divisions are a mystery in which the Church is

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[584] *HPar* II, 10[5-6]:

ܠܟܠܗ ܡܬܝܗܒ ܪܚܝܩ ܠܡܬܚ̈ܐ ,ܡܣܬܪ̈ܐ / ܪܝܫ̈ܐ ,ܡܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܥܡ ܥܠ̈ܝ ܒܪܡ̈ܐ ❖

«And He allots the foothills to the most lowly / the slopes to those in between and the heights to the exalted», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 7; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 88.

[585] *HPar* II, 11[4-6]:

ܕ ܟܠ ܡܨܥ ܒ̈ܐ ,ܡܣ̈ܐ ܠܥ̈ܠ / ܡܨܥ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܝ̈ܐ ܡܚ̈ܝ ܡܬܚ̈ܐ ܡܚ̈ܝ / ܪ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܫܘ̈ܝ ܠܡܬ̈ܐ ❖

«There being sufficient levels in Paradise for everyone; the lowest parts for the repentant; the middle for the righteous; its heights for the victorious while the summit is reserved for God's presence», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 7; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 89.

[586] *HPar* II, 12[1-3]:

ܡܠ̈ܐ ܒܥܪ̈ܒ̈ܐ / ܪ̈ܥ̈ܝܐ ܫ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܝ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܐ / ܪ̈ܥ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܝ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܐ ❖

«Noah made the animals live in the lowest part of the Ark; in the middle part he lodged the birds; while Noah himself like the Diety, resided on the upper deck», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 8; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 89.

[587] *HPar* II, 12[4-6]:

ܒ ܛ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ܐ / ܡ̈ܝ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܒ̈ ܣ̈ܝ̈ ܒ̈ ܣ̈ / ܒ̈ ܪ̈ ❖

«And on mount Sinai it was the People dwelt below; the priests round about it; and Aaron halfway up; while Moses was on its heights; and the glorious One on the summit», E. BECK, ed., *De Paradiso*, 8; English trans., *Hymns on Paradise*, tr. S.P. Brock, 89.

depicted[588]. It is also notable that in one of the *Hymns on Ephiphany* attributed to Ephrem this tripartite division is applied within the Church. By commenting on a passage from the creation account it says that in the beginning while the spirit hovered over the waters they conceived serpents, fishes and birds. The Holy Spirit descended in baptism and symbolically gave birth to three classes:1) Eagles (ܢܥܪܐ) who are «the virgins and chiefs (ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܪܫܝܐ)»; 2) Fishes (ܢܘܢܐ) who are the «religious (ܚܝܫܐ)» and the «middle class (ܡܨܥܝܐ)»; 3) Sea serpents (ܬܢܝܢܐ) who are the prudent «ܚܟܝܡܐ»[589]. In short, the triple gradation in Ephrem is more inclined to hierarchical divisions when compared to that of the *KM*. In the *KM* the gradation is interiorized within a person. An individual is addressed there than a community.

3.6.2 Homilies of Pseudo-Macarius (4th cent.)

There is an anonymous 4th cent. Greek ascetical corpus attributed to one Macarius identified with either of the famous 4th cent. Egyptian monks, Macarius the Great (300-390 AD) or Macarius of Alexandria (+390 AD). However their authorship is disproved by modern scholars. According to Kallistos Ware the milieu of these homilies is Syria rather than Egypt. Even though they are written in Greek the vocabulary and imageries are Syrian[590]. C. Stewart after his detailed study on the connection of this

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[588] *HPar* II, 13[1-6]:

ܕܓܢܬܐ ܕܦܪܝܫܘܬ ܒܗ ܓܢܬܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ / ܡܘܫܐ ܐܦ ܒܬܝܒܬܐ ܘܒܛܘܪ ܣܝܢܝ ܪܫܡ ܠܢ / ܟܠ ܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܪܫܡ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܢ ܛܘܦܣ ܓܢܬܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ / ܕܫܦܝܪ ܘܢܝܚ ܘܫܦܝܪ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ

corpus with the Messalian controversies concludes that these homilies were probably written in Mesopotamia or Asia Minor[591]. There exist striking similarities among the imageries concerning the Church used by Pseudo-Macarius and the author of the *KM*[592]. Both describe a believer's body as a temple of God and the heart as an altar. See a passage from Pseudo-Macarius' *Logion*:

> The human body is a temple of God (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ναός ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ), and if anyone destroys it, the Lord destroys the one who destroyed it. And the human heart is an altar of the Holy Spirit (ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος), and unless the altar is pure and holy [with] desire and hate and wrath and anger outside, the Lord forsakes the altar and departs. Let us hallow the altar with the temple of the Lord so that our lamp may shine and let us go to his bridal chamber[593].

In *Homily* XXXVII Pseudo-Macarius calls both the «community of faithful» as well as the «individual believer» Church:

> Church is understood in two ways: «the assembly of the faithful (τῷ συστήματι τῶν πιστῶν) and the soul taken together as a whole. When, therefore, it is understood spiritually of the human person, church means man taken as a whole (ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ὅλον αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγκριμα)[594].

In *Homily* XII the same idea is repeated: «Therefore, the word church is said of many individuals as well as of one soul»[595]. The 'soul' or in other words 'man' becomes a church when integrity exists in him. It is notable that «man taken as a whole» is a church. This concept can be associated with the exhortation found in the *KM* to have an agreement between

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[591] Cf. C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 4.

[592] For a brief study on their parallelism, cf. R. MURRAY, *Symbols of the Church*, 269-271; C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 218-222.

[593] *Ps-Mac.Log.*, VII (18.3), in H. BERTHOLD, ed., *Makarios / Symeon Reden und Briefe*, I, 114^{12-17}; English tran., C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 220. In *Logion* there is an expression: «altar of the heart (τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῆς καρδίας», *Ps-Mac.Log.*, LII (2,3), in H. BERTHOLD, ed., *Makarios / Symeon Reden und Briefe*, 140^{23}.

[594] *Ps-Mac.Hom.*, XXXVII, 8 (line nos. 99-101), in H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, eds., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 268; English trans., G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 209.

[595] *Ps-Mac.Hom.*, XII, 15 (line nos. 196-197): «ἐκκλησία οὖν λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ψυχῆς», in H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, eds., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 115-116; English trans., G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 103.

«inner» and «outer» persons. However the communitarian aspect of the Church received more emphasis in Pseudo-Macarius than in the *KM*.

Pseudo-Macarius provides expressions like «visible temple», «temple of the heart» and «heavenly Church» which are much closer to similar ideas in the *KM*:

> Visible things are the type and shadow (τύπος καὶ σκιά) of hidden ones: and the visible temple is [a type] of the temple of the heart (τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς καρδίας) and the priest [is a type] of the true priest of the grace of Christ; and all the rest of the order of the visible dispensation is [a type] of the logical and hidden matters according to the inner self. And we receive the manifest dispensation and administration of the Church as an illustration [of what is] worked in a soul by grace[596].

There are many references to the Heavenly Church (ἡ ἐπουράνιος ἐκκλησία)[597]. Like the *KM* it speaks about the possibility of anticipating the life of heaven[598]. Both these works share «a sacramental conception of the indwelling presence of the Lord in the human person, analogous to the institutional Church»[599].

3.6.3 Balai (early 5th cent.)

Balai a chorepiscopos and a poet from Aleppo who was supposed to be lived in the first half of the 5th cent.[600]. A number of hymns are attributed to him and out of them the relevant one in the context of this study is the

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[596] *Ps-Mac.Log.*, LII (2,1) in H. BERTHOLD, ed., *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe*, II, 140^{3-7}, English trans., C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 219.

[597] *Ps-Mac.Hom.*, XV, 51: line nos. 730-732: «precious stones fit for the crown of Christ, for the heavenly Church, for a new World, for a lighted city and an angelic people», in G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 128; Greek text, H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, eds., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 156; *Ps-Mac.Hom.* XXV,7 (line nos. 102-105): «Strive to be enrolled in the Church in heaven with firstborn… to enter into the Holy City, the Jerusalem that is at peace, that is above all, where also is paradise», in G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 162; Greek text, H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, eds., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 203.

[598] Cf. *P-Mac.Hom.* XXXII, 2-3: line nos. 37-51 in H. DÖRRIES – E. KLOSTERMANN – M. KROEGER, ed., *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, 252-253; English trans., G.A. MALONEY, ed. – tr., *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 197-198.

[599] C. STEWART, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 220.

[600] For a brief description about him cf. P. BETTIOLO, «Balai», 452-453; S.P. BROCK, «Balai (early 5th cent.)», 53-54.

Hymn for the consecration of the church in Qennešrin[601]. It provides some parallels with the *KM*:

> For they have worked the Church of the heart and they have brought it to the holy temple, built in Your name[602].
>
> May the Church within be as comely, as the Church without is splendid, may You dwell in the one within and protect the one without, for sealed with Your name [are] heart and house[603].

While speaking about the priests he considers them as a temple of the Spirit of the Lord. He commented about a priest as:

> For his heart carries the temple of His Lord, may the pure one enter the house of the saints[604].

From the above text it can be inferred that Balai follows almost the same thought in the *KM*. He speaks about «Church that is outward (ܥܕܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ)», «Church that is inward (ܓܘܐ ܒܝܬܐ)» or the «Church of the Heart (ܒܝܬ ܠܒܐ)» and «the house of the saints (ܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ)» parallel to «visible Church», «Church of the heart» and «Church of the heaven» of the *KM*[605].

3.6.4 John the Solitary (early 5th cent.)

The tripartite scheme on spiritual life found in the monastic corpus of John the Solitary is already analyzed in Chapter III. It is also observed that there exists some similarity with that of the *KM*. This section concentrates

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[601] Syriac text, BALAI, *HQennešrin*, 251-258; French trans., «Poème de Mar Balaï», tr. F. Graffin, 103-121; English trans., *The Madrasha of Mar Balai* in K.E. MCVEY, «The Sogitha on the church of Edessa», 359-367.

[602] *HQennešrin*, Str. 21: « ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܒܢܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܫܡܟ ܘܒܢܘ ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܒܐ», BALAI, *HQennešrin*, 253; English trans., *The Madrasha of Mar Balai*, in K.E. MCVEY, «The Sogitha on the church of Edessa», 361.

[603] *HQennešrin*, Str. 22:

ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܠܒܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܠܒܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ

only on 'Church' which is presented according to John's usual pattern of body-soul-spirit levels:

> The visible church of our world is the multitude of persons, the assembly of people and their being joined with one another. The true church consists in agreement on belief and unanimity of mind in one faith. The church at the level of the spirit is above our world. The Apostle called these heavenly assemblies the «church in heaven». However they are not called church because they dwell in particular places or come together in reunions with one another; rather the real church consists in the understanding of truth by which they delight in divine mysteries[606].

The analysis of the above mentioned text makes it clear that John the Solitary presents the «visible Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚܐ)» in its communitarian aspect. For him it is the «multitude of persons (ܟܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ)»[607], *i.e.* «the assembly of people (ܟܢܫܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ)»[608]. The expression the «Church of the heart» cannot be found in his writings. But he presents the mind as a hidden altar[609]. The next grade is presented as the «true Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ)» which consists in «agreement on belief»[610] or the «unanimity of mind in one faith»[611]. The Church at the level of the Spirit is above our world and John says that the Apostle called these heavenly assemblies «the Church in heaven (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ)»[612]. According to him the real Church is constituted not through its gatherings but it consists in «the understanding of truth by which they [the gathered people] delight in the divine mysteries»[613].

The vision of John the Solitary agrees with that of the *KM*, but in a communitarian aspect. In the *KM*, a person who becomes a church

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606 *Die Seele*, 88[15-22]:
ܒܗ ܕܡܬܚܕܝܢ ܀ ܟܢܫܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܀ ܐܢܫ ܐܢ ܟܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚܐ ܀ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܝܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܀ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܪܡ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܥܕܬܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܐܬܪ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܕܝܢ ܐܘ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܐܝܫ ܥܡ ܐܝܫ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܝܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܀ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܕܝܢ ܒܥܠ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܬܐ

(dwelling place of God), should foster the «Church of the heart» within him. For that it demands an agreement between one's «inner man» and «outer man». In this context John the Solitary differs from the author of the *KM*. According to John the Solitary the requirement is not the agreement that happens in a person, but the unanimity of community in their faith. The comprehension of «truth» and the participation in it are also there in the *KM* as the fruits of the membership in the heavenly Church. The only difference is that while *KM* focuses on the individual, John stresses on the community.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the three main concepts of the title of the dissertation, *i.e.* «mystery», «Church» and «triple gradation». The Syriac equivalent of mystery is «*rāzā*». The usage of this term and its synonyms in the *KM* are analyzed in detail and the analysis ended in a conclusion that every *rāzā* holds a triple gradated experience. The visible symbol or «*rāzā*» points to a hidden «truth» and the «hidden power» of that truth is pregnant in that «*rāzā*». In that way a «*rāzā*» provides a triple gradated experience to one who approaches it. All can perceive its visible aspect; but the comprehension of hidden power in it that points to the «truth» is reserved to the «Perfect» of the *KM* and the participation in the pointed truth will be eschatological. The state of Perfection is described in terms of certain ascetical terminologies like «luminous eyes», «mirror of the heart», «robe of glory», *etc*. From the detailed study that we made of «*rāzā*», it becomes clear that its triple gradated experience is subjective and goes with the experience of a tripartite person. As we have seen in the Chapter III, a person in the *KM* is a «tripartite» being with body, soul / mind / heart and Spirit. The visibility of body goes with the visible aspect of a «*rāzā*». At the same time, when, the «outer man» represented by body and the «inner man» represented by soul agrees in a person, he can achieve the capacity to perceive the «hidden power» of the «truth» and in eschatology he will participate in that «truth». Hence eventhough objectively the «truth» is one, its triple gradation evolves from the subjective experience of a tripartite man.

The next concept under our analysis was «Church», the «*ʿēdtā*». An etymological as well as a philological study was made on the term. We can say that for the author «*ʿēdtā*» is a «*rāzā*» and hence holds a triple gradation. The term «*ʿēdtā*» in the *KM* is a multi-faceted term and it contains several significances like, «abode of God», «assembly of faithful»,

«sacred building for worship», *etc*. In addition to these significances we have one more meaning which is the most emphasized significance of the «*ʿēdtā* » in the *KM*; *i.e.* the «Perfect» is an abode of the Lord and hence a «church». This thought can be a Pauline exegesis and a detailed study is made on the nature of Pauline influences in this field. Describing the nature of the mystery of «*ʿēdtā*», the author used several other types from this visible world. Out of these imageries we focused on five themes which also provide a triple gradated experience, *viz*., «Paradise», «Kingdom», «Jerusalem», «Zion», and «Eden». Since the Book of Revelation was a later addition in the canon of Syriac Churches, the appearance of the concept of «heavenly Jerusalem» in the *KM* was a riddle in scholarly circles. Hence we spend much space to find out the channel of its entrance into our work. From the textual analysis that we made, we are in a position to make it clear that the usage of this expression is not rooted in the Book of Revelation. It goes with the references from the Letter to the Galatians and the Hebrews. Being a «*rāzā*», it is natural that the «*ʿēdtā*» allows a triple gradation. Mainly in the twelfth *mēmrā*: *On the Hidden and Visible Ministry of the Church* the author presents the Church at three levels, *viz*., the «visible Church (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܚܐ)», the «Church of the Heart (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ)» and the «Church that in Heaven (ܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ)». The «Church of heaven» - the «truth» of God, is present in its image in the visible Church. Hence the visible Church is the «*rāzā*» of the true Church in heaven. The eschatological realization of God's mystery, *i.e.* the heavenly Church, is hidden and not accessible to all. We cannot see any detailed narration about the heavenly Church in the *KM*, may be for the purpose of affirming its hiddenness. However the narration of the visible ministry is there in detail. The «visible Church», the person as a church who is the venue of the «Church of the heart» and the «heavenly Church» are depicted following a similar style. There exists similarity in their characteristics, especially in their architectural structure and liturgy. With his profound ecclesiological visions the author invites each of us to follow the footsteps of Jesus and the Apostles, *i.e.* to lead a genuine ecclesial life so as to attain perfection. He affirms the necessity of the visible Church and its ministry for one's salvation, mentioning the examples of the Prophets and the Just of ancient times who waited till the period of the Apostles to receive perfection. In this journey to the «Perfection», *i.e.* to the initial purity of Adam which is restored by the resurrected Christ, we are not left alone. We have a blessed mother, the Church who knows her children individually. The nature of her maternal care that we experience throughout this journey and her guidance

is inclusive in the visible ministry of the Church. But if one skips training in the visible Church he cannot receive this bliss. Through her visible ministry, the Church helps her children to regain the lost purity of heart. The state of having the purity of heart, *i.e.* the «Perfection» is described in the *KM* as a state when «our body becomes a hidden temple and the heart a hidden altar», where each person should act as a priest by offering his life as a living sacrifice. Then that pure heart, becomes a luminous «mirror», to receive the revelation of the heavenly Church and that person can see the heavenly Church while on earth.

Even though the author presents the Church in three grades and says that there exists a difference in glory and distinct duty, he confirms the fact that the same Spirit is working in all the three. So we can infer that these three grades are the subjective perception of the mystery of the Church by individuals at different spiritual levels. This profound vision of the Church at three grades calls our attention to consider our membership within the Church of Christ not only as a gift but also as a responsibility. Our spiritual life is not a private affair, but a responsible formation under the care of visible Church which demands each one's co-operation. The individual's spiritual efforts should be according to the living tradition. Under the maternal care of the visible Church one learns how to integrate body and heart, visibility and invisibility, the visible Church and the hidden Church. Thus, one grows in self-awareness that he is composed of visible and invisible elements. Here the model is Christ, the perfect God-man, the meeting point of visibility and invisibility. The visible temple, baptism, altar are all necessary for one to enter into the Church of the heart. The whole work, especially this twelfth *mēmrā* can be summarized into the author's exhortation «Let us walk in His Image (ܒܠܫܡ ܡܗܠܟܝܢ)»[614]. Through the imitation of Christ which is nothing but a responsible ecclesial life, one regains the purity in which he was created by God. At the end of this Chapter an attempt is made to find whether the idea of «triple gradated Church» exists in other Syriac Writers. It is found that Ephrem, Pseudo-Macarius, Balai and John the Solitary share similar thoughts.

[614] PS III, 428[24](17,8).

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This dissertation is an attempt to prove the thesis that we put forward at the beginning of our study: the triple gradated Church in the *KM* never refers to three hierarchical groups, but to the spiritual maturity of a tripartite person in experiencing and comprehending the mystery of the one Church. It is true that the main concept in the title of the dissertation is the «Church». However the study that we made is not purely an ecclesiological study. We have a reason for that. The author of the *KM* never tries to present the «Church» in a systematic or dogmatic way. While speaking about the triple gradated Church, his focus was not on the «Church» as an institution or as a community, but on the person who lives 'in the Church' and as a 'church' with filial rights. Hence, the thirty *mēmrē* of the anonymous author of the *KM*, deserve a careful listening from the children of the Church of any generation. It is a treasury of pre-monastic visions of the spiritual life of the Syriac Church of 4^{th} / 5^{th} cent. Since the author addressed almost all the problems and experiences of a 'community of faith', its message has a perennial value. A close reading of the document reveals the fact that its language, expressions, methodology, *etc*., are influenced by the characteristics of a Church which was isolated from the Roman Empire and hence, from the Western Church. Because of this historical reason we could not expect a systematically arranged treatise with fine logic or defined categories diffused in the West from an author of that milieu. Hence for the development of our thesis we viewed the work from different angles to bring out the teachings of the anonymous author. Thus in our study we undertook an analysis of the *KM*, with historical, philological anthropological and ecclesiological approaches.

In addition to a ‘general introduction’ and ‘general conclusion’ this dissertation consists of 4 chapters. Since it was very evident that the author used several expressions and concepts from the Pauline corpus, we provided a brief study on the «Pauline Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*» as an Appendix. A transliteration table, a detailed bibliography, the list of abbreviations used, and different indexes, *viz*., Bible quotations, Proper names of places and persons, key Syriac words and expressions, patristic writings, and main themes are provided for the perfection of our research work.

The Chapter One with the title «The *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*: A Rare Portrait of the Ancient Mesopotamian Christianity» is a general study on the *KM*. We have already mentioned the uniqueness of this work which originated from a very isolated part of the Christendom. In this chapter therefore we made a deliberate attempt to have a basic knowledge of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *KM*. A *Status Quaestionis* is provided to see the previous scholarship on the *KM* to receive the fruits of their studies and to make ours more profound and original. In addition to that, it includes a study of the historical and theological background of the anonymous author and the addressed community. We briefly mentioned the MSS of the *KM* so far discovered. Some recent scholars witnessed the new discoveries of MSS containing the fragments of the *KM* under the name of certain other writers like Evagrius, John the Solitary, Macarius, Abraham of Nethpar, *et al*. It is true that the *KM* is never quoted by its own name in later literature. Nevertheless, the existence of its numerous MSS as well as the insertion of its fragments in other literary works indicate its wide circulation. It was considered as an inspiring text to be copied and handed down in the Syriac monasteries of different traditions. Let us see the main conclusions that derived from the study that we made in the first chapter.

- We could not provide any new information to unseal the «intentional anonymity» regarding the authorship which supports our author’s teachings to become a «foreigner (ܟܚܕܐ)» or a «stranger (ܟܚܫܝܟ)» or a «sojourner (ܟܬܗܝܡ)» in this world through *msarrqūtā* «self-emptying (ܟܗܝܡܘܬܐ) and a disposition to practice «fasting to the world (ܨܘܡ ܥܠܡܐ)».
- We have studied different arguments of the previous scholars regarding its time of formation. Some considered it as a work of the beginning of the 4th cent., while some others placed it at the end of 4th or at the beginning of the 5th cent., or even later. In this context our study could

provide three new literary evidences to support its late 4th cent., or early 5th cent. origin.

1) The author uses the term «*krīsṭyānā* - the Christian» to denote the follower of the Christ and not *mšīḥāyā* or *nāṣrāyā*. It is a proven fact that with the late 4th and early 5th cent., the term *krīsṭyānā* replaced other terms and came to be used for a Christian.

2) The second evidence is from the term used for the Holy Spirit. We have seen that up to 400 AD Holy Spirit is represented grammatically as feminine. From the early 5th cent., some people started to use masculine term to refer to Holy Spirit and from 6th cent., masculine became the norm. In the *KM*, the major term used to represent the Holy Spirit is not with the masculine adjective, «*rūḥā qaddišā*» but with the absolute form «*rūḥā d-qudšā*» which is neither masculine nor feminine. From the 6th cent. onwards *rūḥā d-qudšā* was also replaced by masculine «*rūḥā qaddišā*». Since in the *KM* we could not find any masculine usage for the Holy Spirit and at same time feminine expression, «ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ / *rūḥā qaddištā* » is still there in one instance we can say that the *KM* originated in a period before 6th cent. The remnant archaic usage *rūḥā qaddištā* again pushes it close to 4th cent.

3) The third evidence comes from the absence of the terms like, ܕܝܪܐ / *dayrāyā*, ܕܝܪܐ / *dayrā*, ܥܡܪܐ / *ʿumrā*, *etc*., from the cenobitic period which flourished at the time of Rabbula (411 / 2-435 / 6 AD). At the same time the proto-monastic terms like ܒܪ ܩܝܡܐ / *bar qyāmā* and ܝܚܝܕܝܐ / *īḥīdāyā* are there in the *KM*. Hence it is clear that the work is from the proto-monastic period. From all these evidences that we provide, we have the right to claim it as a work from the late 4th cent., or from the beginning of the 5th cent.

- We can see different modes of address like «brother men» «fathers», «our brothers and sisters in Christ», «My son», «brothers», «you», «who want to become an *īḥīdāyā*», *etc*. Hence, we can reach the conclusion that our addressed community is not homogeneous. It included different categories of people including men and women who led an ordinary life. Hence it cannot be a monastic literature. May be the collections of the homilies of a zealous pastor who addressed the members of a «local church» to guide them to spiritual maturity.
- A brief study of the biblical canon used by our author helped us to understand his exegetical mind. The Bible was there at the heart of the *KM* community. The only book quoted in the entire work is the Bible which was at that time canonically in a fluid state. We have nearly 1200

references from the Sacred Scripture especially from the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Pauline corpus inclusive of Letter to the Hebrews. For the OT, the absence of certain books like Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther supports the use of a primitive Syriac canon. Certain unique expressions of *Peshitta* are also noted. Influence of Deutro-canonical as well as of apocryphal writings cannot be denied. Regarding the NT, the usage of *Diatessaron* is beyond any doubt. About the usage of Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, we could not say anything more since we have no prior MSS before the *Peshitta*. The author used all the Epistles of Paul except that to Philemon. The *KM* included Epistle to the Hebrews in the Pauline corpus. The absence of references from the Book of Revelation supports the use of Early Syriac New Testament canon.

- The Messalian connection is also treated briefly and certain proofs for its non-Messalian character are brought out. The exhortation to keep fidelity to the «visible Church» is suggested as the supreme proof for its non – Messalian character.

In short the Chapter I made an attempt to recreate the «cradle» of the *KM* community. The efforts that we have made there motivated us to learn the art of comprehending the mind of the author and thus achieve the right skill to interpret this ancient literary piece.

The Chapter Two is entitled «The Triple Gradated Realities in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*». Since our focus is on the «triple gradated Church», there was a need for us to undertake an analysis of the whole work to see whether the author provides any other reality in 'gradation', more specifically in 'triple gradation'. From the study that we made we could learn the fact that the author and the *KM* community were guided by different dualistic tendencies of their time and influenced by an asceticism guided by virginity. As an impact of this, we could see clear narrations of bipartite groupings like «Perfect and Upright», «major commandments and minor commandments», «solid food and milk and vegetables», «spiritual ministry and physical ministry», *etc*. The main barrier between these two categories is presented as their option for virginity. Then why the author holds a triple gradation while speaking about the Church? For knowing the real spirit behind such an approach, we did a close reading of the whole text of the *KM*.

It was interesting to realize that the author is not holding any strict dualistic ideas, but he speaks about several grades. It is clear that when the author defines the bipartite groups like «Perfect and Upright», «major commandments and minor commandments», «solid food, milk and

vegetables», «spiritual ministry and physical ministry», *etc*., he describes a third state in each category, *viz*., a state «beyond perfection», a state «beyond any laws», a state when we can «eat Our Lord», «heavenly ministry», *etc*. The third state is presented as an eschatological fulfilment. We kept all these gradated realities in a frame and could see that his vision on triple gradated Church never stands alone. He followed the same pattern. The Church in three grades, the «visible Church», the «Church of the heart» and the «heavenly Church» goes in parallel with other triple gradated realities. From the analysis of this common pattern, we have seen that they are spiritual divisions rather than social. The author never wants to speak about any hierarchical divisions; rather about different grades that can be experienced in a person on his way to perfection or spiritual maturity. Not a society with different levels but a «person» who moves through different levels during his spiritual growth is the subject matter of the *KM*. Towards receiving more support for our argument that they are not hierarchical divisions our analysis is extended to see whether the author is influenced by any movements of his time and whether we could see the *KM*'s protagonists the «Perfect» and the «Upright» in any other then contemporary movements. We went through systems of Manicheans, Marcionites, and proto-monastic groups to see whether there existed any similar groupings to make sure that they are not social divisions. Our study proved that the author shares many thoughts with their bipartite groups but never identifies his «Perfect» and the «Upright» with any of them. In short we could not find them as ecclesiastical institutions. At the same time the study reveals that the state of «Perfection» is the proto-state of humanity in which Adam was created and the «Uprightness» the state of humanity after the fall. The main concern of the *KM* is to instruct the believers to go back to the initial stage. The *KM* narrates that journey using different metaphorical categories. The depiction of the state of «Perfection» through sharp ascetical requirements like «renunciation of marriage, possessions, and work» seem to create an unbridgeable chasm between the «Perfect» and the «Upright». Our study tried to bring out the symbolism behind these expressions. The «virginity», «renunciation», «detachment from manual works», *etc*., are expressions borrowed from the milieu of the *KM* community guided by the strong tradition of the Deuteronomic «call to Holy War» to describe the state of *īḥīdāyūtā*, a state in which man can be in perfect union with God. The effort taken by a person to achieve this state is described as a war. Hence, the original sense of *īḥīdāyūtā* is not solitary life, and an *īḥīdāyā* need not be a person from any ascetical

institutionalized ecclesiastic group. Any baptized one can be an *īḥīdāyā*, no matter to which ecclesiastical institution he belongs. The gradations the author presented through various metaphorical imageries are actually referring to various stages of this growth. We have seen that all these grades exist not in the society but in the interiority of a person on his move to Perfection / *īḥīdāyūtā*. Hence, the protagonist is a «person» who is a warrior in the field to achieve the state of Perfection.

The Chapter Three «From Tripartite Man to the Triple Gradated Church» focuses not on the «war», but on the «warrior». It analyzes the *KM* in an anthropological point of view. It is found that the *KM* presents this warrior as a conditional «tripartite being». The terminologies used to describe man as a tripartite being are studied in depth. Even though the author speaks about three elements in man he never intended them as three separate components in man. He always stood for the integrity of a person. The «body» alone or «soul» alone cannot constitute a person. The author presents the state of Perfection which we have seen in the previous chapter as «proto-state of humanity in which Adam was created» receives a new definition as the «integrity of a person», *i.e.* the agreement between one's «inner man» and «outer man». A person should be perfected only when he achieves in him this integrity. In an integral / perfect man the «visibility / revealed» meets the «invisibility / hidden». The capacity of the body to be visible, as well as its capability to encounter this visible creation, is contrasted with the invisible soul and its power to perceive the hidden invisible realities. Hence, the state of Perfection is described as a journey from «visibility» to «invisibility». In this context the concept of ܪܙܐ / *rāzā* is introduced. A person using his bodily capacities can have the power to see the visible symbols ܪܙܹܐ / *rāzē* found in this world. But to see the hidden power in them he needs «purity of the heart», or «robe of glory» or «luminous eyes» or «mirror of the heart». As we have seen in this chapter all these ascetical expressions are images to describe the nature of the war being waged in a person to achieve the state of «Perfection» or to achieve the agreement between the «inner man» and the «outer man».

This chapter includes the analysis of the writings of Aphrahat and John the Solitary to see whether they also share any tripartite schemes. Aphrahat too presents the baptized person as a tripartite being, but we could not see any tripartite spiritual systems in him. In the writings of John the Solitary, especially in the dialogue *On the Soul* (*Die Seele*) we can see a well developed tripartite system. The tripartite system which appeared in its crude form in the *KM* flourished in John the Solitary which was taken later

by many of his followers. We have also seen the Pauline influence in both the *KM* as well as in John in their presentation of the tripartite system. They share the Pauline terminologies like «outer man», «inner man», and «new man» to describe various levels of spiritual growth. The «new person» is one who achieves integrity or true unity in himself and with God, *i.e.* one who achieves the state of *īḥīdāyūtā*. In such a person God dwells and at the same time he dwells with God. There arises the Pauline notion that a person is a «temple of God», which paves its way to the main theme of our dissertation the «triple gradated Church». The call to foster the «Church of the heart» is actually a different expression for the vocation to become «temples of God». Hence, this chapter guided us to the fact that triple gradated Church never intended three groups in the Church, but the three stages of spiritual growth of any believer who is a tripartite being.

The Chapter Four, «The Mystery of Triple Gradated Church in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*: A Theological Study» focuses on the key theme of our dissertation. We could realize that, the author never intended to formulate Church in a theological way. He presented Church from the point of view of one individual believer's subjective experience. In this chapter, the three main concepts of the title of our dissertation, *viz.*, «mystery», «Church» and «triple gradation» are studied. Through these three concepts, we focused on the efforts of the author to present the ecclesial life as the best way to attain spiritual maturity. The author speaks about the Church at its three levels. We could see it as a parallel presentation with three elements of a *rāzā*, *viz.*, its «visible sign», «hidden power» and the «Truth». The Church is always one. It can be experienced by a tripartite person at three levels. A believer as a tripartite being must experience Church at the level of his body through the visible elements of the Church. The participation in the visible Church and its liturgy will form him to be one in himself, or to be a Perfect or in other words an *īḥīdāyā*. That spiritual formation is described as the fostering of the «church of the heart». Here one's body becomes a *hayklā* and heart a *madbḥā* and the person a dwelling place of God, *i.e.* a «church / temple». In that state the «Truth», the heavenly Church can be experienced in advance while living in this world and can be there after one's departure from this world. So we can infer that these three grades are the subjective perception of the mystery of the one Church by a person at his different spiritual levels.

The uniqueness of the *KM* lies in its pedagogical way of presenting the process of the formation of the «Church of the heart». All the ascetical expressions analyzed in chapter three are related to this theme. The

fostering of the «church of the heart» is nothing else but the ascetical «war» to attain the state of *īḥīdāyūtā*; the initial purity of Adam which is restored by the resurrected Christ. The *KM* presents this «war» not as an individual's personal endeavor and there we are not left alone. The Church who is the «mother of all» has a vital role to guide her children on the war field. The nature of her maternal care that we experience throughout this journey in this visible world is narrated through the depiction of the visible Church. Through her public and institutional structures, she manifests the invisible presence of the glorious resurrected Christ and the eschatological realization of His Heavenly Kingdom. Through such a marvelous teaching the author places the personal spiritual journey as an essential part of Salvation history. The invitation to follow the footsteps of Jesus and the Apostles, *i.e.* to lead a genuine ecclesial life to attain perfection affirms it. While teaching about the necessity of the visible Church and its ministry for one's salvation, he brings the examples of the «Prophets» and the «Just of ancient times» who waited till the period of the Apostles *i.e.* of the Church to receive perfection.

The author's exhortation to be under the guidance of the Church is an exhortation that fills our heart with confidence as well as a demand that expects our personal response. It fills our heart with confidence, because in this journey the person is not left alone, but is always guided by the blessed mother, the Church. At the same time, it demands our responsible cooperation. This magnificent work calls our attention to our duty not only to live 'in' the Church and 'for' the Church, but also 'with' the Church and 'be the church'. The scope of this visible ministry is to foster the hidden work of the heart, which is, of course, to regain the lost purity. Here the visible Church, as an educator, trains the individual to become like Christ, who is now visible as the Church. The humanity He received from us at His incarnation is perfected by His lowliness and is now enthroned in heaven. In return He left His divinity, His Spirit who is now active in the Church, with us. We are responsible for growing into the fullness of this Spirit which is described in the whole work as the state of Perfection, *i.e.* a journey from 'pledge' to '*Paraclete*'. For achieving the growth to the fullness of the Spirit, the Church trains us to have ܡܟܟܝܟ, the lowliness which is presented as the principal characteristic of the incarnated Jesus. By humbling ourselves like Christ, our heart will regain the purity which Adam lost due to his pride. This process of making our imperfect humanity similar to that of Christ is the 'imitation of Christ' according to the author. Through the visible ministry of the Church, we attain that lost purity by

being in the state of lowliness, and ‘our body becomes a hidden temple and the heart a hidden altar’. Here each person acts as a priest, and his life becomes a living sacrifice. Then that heart, in the author’s language ‘the Church of the heart’ becomes a venue of the revelation of the heavenly Church in its glory. The person can see the heavenly Church while on earth and he realizes the fact that it is the mystery which is presented as an image in the visible Church. But if one skips training in the visible Church one will not obtain this bliss, because the visible ministry of the Church was instituted by Christ Himself and was affirmed by his Apostles. Thus, this excellent discourse describes the personal spiritual life in terms of the Church.

The anonymous author invites us to ascend to the level of the Apostles who witnessed to the Gospel with experiential knowledge: «We declare to you what was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have looked at and touched with our hands» (1John 1:1). They were the eye witnesses of the historical Jesus, but we are the eye witnesses of His mystical presence in the Church. Just as the Apostles continue their witness through the Church, we can also teach others with the confidence of our own experience just as the Apostles did. Thus the author, as the ‘Perfect’, continues his teaching ministry and invites us to attain the same Perfection to continue the witnessing and teaching ministry in the Church.

APPENDIX

Pauline Exegesis in the *Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*

In ancient Syriac literature, the person as well as the writings of St. Paul the Apostle entered in a unique way and the Pauline exegesis in them received the attention of many scholars[1]. Since it is a vast subject our concentration will be only on the *KM* and again we limit our study on those Pauline expressions that support the argument of our thesis. We have seen them already in our thesis. However here we try to put them under one title.

1. Sources of Pauline Corpus in the *KM*

M. Kmosko in his *Praefatio* gives the details of the quotations from the Letters of Paul used in the *KM*. After studying all these citations from Pauline corpus he makes a remark that «*Epistolae S. Pauli (excepta ad Philemonem) omnes citantur*»[2]. According to him the Pauline letters do not differ much from that of Vulgate Syriac (*Peshitta*), but traces of antiquity rest in the forms. For many scholars one source is Aphrahat[3]. The Pauline citations of the *KM* correspondence more closely with those found in the *Expositions* of Aphrahat than that of *Peshitta*. Hence he put forward a

[1] For a brief study of Pauline reception in the Syriac literature up to 5th cent., cf. M. CASADEI, «Paolo nella letteratura Syriaca (I-V secolo)», 69-86; S. Abouzayd provides a brief study of influence of Pauline epistles in the 5th cent. monastic writings, cf. S. ABOUZAYD, S., «The use of Saint Paul's Letters», 169-178. Aphrahat and Ephrem used the Pauline corpus immensely. For its usage in Aphrahat cf. S.S. TAYLOR, «Paul and the Persian Sage», 312-331; J. KERSCHENSTEINER, *Der altsyrische Paulustext*. For the Pauline exegesis in Ephrem, cf. P. FÉGHALI, «Note sur l'influence de S. Paul», 5-25; E. VERGANI, «L'Esegesi di Paolo in Efrem», 87-107. Jacob of Serugh too speaks about the person of Paul in his *mēmrē* 61 and 62, cf. R. PARAKKOTT, «St. Paul according to Jacob of Serugh», 41-46; S. BUṬRUS AL-NAʿMAH, «L'Apostolo Paolo nelle omilie della chiesa Syriaca Ortodossa», 153-162. In Syriac liturgical hymns also Paul receives a special place. Cf. L. SAKO, «L'Apostolo Paolo nell'innografia liturgica della Chiesa Orientale Caldeo - Assira», 342-345.

[2] Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLXIV.

[3] Cf. Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLXIV; M. WESTERHOFF, «Did the Author of the Book of Steps», 124. Westerhoff even considers Aphrahat as our author's possible teacher.

hypothesis that there existed a pre Syriac-version of *Corpus Paulinum* before the redaction of *Peshitta* which was used by these ancient authors[4]. For the Acts and the Letters of the Apostles too the MSS of a pre-version before *Peshitta* is not yet found. Some attempts were made to recreate those biblical texts from the many citations from the writings of the ancient Syriac Fathers. J. Kerschensteiner made an attempt to analyze the citations from the Acts and the Pauline Letters in Aphrahat, Ephrem and the *KM*. Regarding the Acts he reached the conclusion that these authors used the same Syriac ancient text[5] assumed to be in existed in their times. After analyzing nearly seven hundred citations and allusions from fifteen ancient Syriac authors Kerschensteiner supported the hypothesis of Kmosko about the existence of an ancient corpus of Pauline Letters, which consists of the Third Letter to the Corinthians, and Letter to the Hebrews but without the Letter addressed to Philemon[6]. There is a monograph of M. Westerhoff[7] who studied *Corpus Paulinum* in the *KM*. He analyzed the *KM* in a detailed manner to see whether the author of the *KM* had the comprehension of Paul. He admits the fact that the author is acquainted with the whole of the Corpus Paulinum apart from Philemon and including Hebrews. However, the author of the *KM* does not seem to have any idea of the specific features of the individual letters and only once the title of one of the letters is mentioned, *viz*., the Letter to the Galatians[8]. The *KM* witnesses his free interpretation of Pauline expressions. From the nature of the usage of the Pauline Letters in the *KM*, it appears that the author did not use a written copy of Corpus Paulinum, but he dictated from his memory[9]. Hence as E. Stori observes: «Non è facile discernere se veramente ciò sia dovuto ad una libera interpretazione oppure il *LG* [*KM*] abbia attinto a qualche fonte a noi sconosciuta: egli è infatti i'unico testimone di numerosi passi paolini precedenti al testo della Peshitta»[10]. Westerhoff presents «an acoustic

[4] Kmosko, *Praefatio*, CLXIV.
[5] J. KERSCHENSTEINER, *Der Altsyrische Paulustext*, 63-74.
[6] J. KERSCHENSTEINER, *Der altsyrische Paulustext*, 209.
[7] Cf. M. WESTERHOFF, *Das Paulusverständnis im Liber Graduum*.
[8] Cf. Gal 2:14 mentioned in PS III, 133^{13}(5,18).
[9] Cf. M. WESTERHOFF, «Did the Author of the Book of Steps», 120-121.
[10] E. STORI, «Alcune note sui detti extracanonici», 139.

experience»[11] — may be the participation in the Liturgy of the Word — as a channel of his contact with the Scripture[12].

2. The Pauline Quotations in the *KM*

The references to the Pauline corpus are numerous in the *KM*. In his study of Pauline quotations in the *KM*, M. Westerhoff sorted the references and he says that the *KM* used 52 quotations from Rom, 53 from 1Cor; 27 from 2Cor; 24 from Gal; 19 from Eph; 13 from Phil; 16 from Col; 3 from 1Thess; 6 from 2Thess; 7 from 1Tim; 4 from 2Tim; 2 from Tit; and from Gal[13], 35. There are no references from Philemon – which was excluded from the pre-*Peshitta* Pauline Corpus. In the *KM* it is seen that while quoting from the Letter to the Hebrews the author presents them as the words of Paul[14]. The author places Paul second in authority after Our Lord Himself. «Our Lord and the Apostle (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܫܠܝܚܐ)»[15] is a frequently used formula to express the scriptural authorities. «Thus the relationship between the Apostle and Our Lord resembles that of the prophets and the Torah in Judaism: the Apostle functions as the true interpreter of the teaching of Our Lord»[16].

3. The Name of Paul

The author makes references to the Letters of Paul by mentioning the very name of Paul[17]. In addition to that, he uses the epithet the «Apostle

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[11] M. WESTERHOFF, «Did the Author of the Book of Steps», 122.

[12] PS III, 273[22](11,1): «When the Apostle and the Gospel are read (ܟܕ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ)».

[13] M. WESTERHOFF, *Der Paulustext*, 31.

[14] Cf. PS III, 372[5-15](15,15), Heb 11:13; 12:22-24.

[15] Cf. PS III, 108[15](5,5).

[16] Cf. M. WESTERHOFF, «Did the Author of the Book of Steps», 119.

[17] Cf. PS III, 89[6-7](4,3); 104[11-14](5,2-3); 120[5](5,11); 133[10.23](5,18-19); 164[4](7,8); 257[23](10,5); 277[9](11,3); 348[8](15,6); 364[20](15,12); 372[5.19](15,15); 373[1](15,15); 417[4](17,1); 436[18](18,2); 437[11](18,3); 440[6](18,3); 444[11.17](18,5); 460[10](19,6); 468[4](19,8); 488[17.20](19,22); 509[12](19,33); 533[11](20,4); 536[22](20,4); 548[6](20,8); 569[25](20,15); 572[20](20,15); 596[17](21,4); 597[12](21,5); 600[5](21,6); 612[6](21,10); 624[5](21,15); 668[2](22,14); 685[7.25](22,22.24); 709[14](23,10); 745[19](25,6); 788[8](28,1); 808[2](29,1); 812[18](29,1); 813[22](29,2); 816[15](29,2); 845[11](29,13); 852[7](29,16); 857[3.11](29,19); 868[6](30,3); 873[4](30,4); 897[4](30,14); 904[10](30,18); 905[4](30,18); 909[11](30,20); 913[14](30,21).

(ܫܠܝܚܐ)» to refer him. «As the Apostle said (ܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ)»[18] or the «Apostle wrote (ܫܠܝܚܐ ܟܬܒ)»[19] is frequent in the *KM*. He speaks about the power of Jesus which raised Paul[20]. The conversion of Paul impressed the author and while speaking about human judgment towards others the author warns that we do not know whether that person can be another Paul[21] who is like weed at the beginning but can become good wheat at the end[22]. It is also mentioned that after receiving the Paraclete Paul received the power to correct his disciples[23].

4. Key Pauline Expressions Found in the *KM*

There are a lot of Pauline expressions adapted by the author to develop his argument. In this study majority of them were theologically analyzed and hence here for some of them only a nominal mentioning is needed.

4.1 *Pledge of the Spirit*

A study is done in Chapter I on the usage of the expression «ܪܘܫܡܝ» in Paul[24] and its connection with the unique expression «ܪܘܫܝܚ» in the *KM*[25]. As it is mentioned there, the hypothesis that the term «ܪܘܫܝܚ» which is found only in the *KM* is an early pre-*Peshitta* version of «ܪܘܫܡܝ» could bot be proved. However, the Pauline expression «the pledge of the Spirit (ܪܘܫܝܢ ܪܘܫܡܝ)» in 2Cor 1:22; 5:5 goes in tune with the «ܪܘܫܝܢ ܪܘܫܝܚ»[26] of the *KM*.

4.2 *Imagery of Food*

In the Chapter II, it is already seen that in order to explain the stages of one's maturity in the spiritual journey the author uses certain dietary

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[18] PS III, 12^{4}(1,1); 53^{11-12}(3,4); 53^{22}(3,5); 57^{7}(3,6); 57^{12}(3,7); 68^{16-17}(3,11); 73^{11}(3,12); 101^{8}(5,1); 112^{24}(5,7); 189^{1}(8,1); 192^{4}(8,1); 197^{5}(8,4); 200^{16-17}(8,5); 232^{19}(9,13); *etc*.

[19] PS III, 64^{16}(3,9); 216^{26}(9,6).

[20] PS III, 89^{6}(4,3).

[21] PS III, 89^{7}(4,3); $104^{11.14}$(5,2.3)

[22] PS III, 120^{5-8}(5,11).

[23] Cf. Gal 2:14; PS III, 133^{10-13}(5,18).

[24] Cf. 2Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14.

[25] See Chap. I, section 3.6.3.

[26] Cf. PS III, 68^{15}(3,11); 69^{6}(3,11); 76^{23}(3,14); 373^{22}(15,16); 384^{3-4}(15,19).

imageries of «milk», «vegetables and solid food»[27]. The author reserves the «milk for the children (ܚܠܒܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ)», «vegetables for the sick (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܚܠܫܐ)», and «the solid food (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ) for the mature[28]. Since there references are there in 1Cor 3:1-3 and Rom 14:1-4, the usage of dietary images in the *KM* can be Pauline. The metaphorical usage of «milk and solid food» is there in Heb 5:12-14 too. It is already mentioned in the study that the Pauline Corpus of the *KM* includes the Letter to the Hebrews.

4.3 *The «Inner Man» and the «Outer Man»*

The expressions «inner man (ܓܒܪܐ ܕܓܘܐ)» and the «outer man (ܓܘܐ ܕܒܪܐ)» are there in the *KM*[29] as well as in several other ancient Christian writings. They can also be borrowed Pauline expressions. Paul uses the expressions the «inner man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος)» and the «outer man (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος)» in Rom 7:22 and 2Cor 4:16. The nature of their application in the *KM* and in certain other Christian writers are already dealt in the Chapter III[30].

4.4 *The «New Man» and «Old Man»*

The expressions the «new man (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܓܒܪܐ)» and the «old man (ܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܩܐ)» seen in the *KM* can also be adapted from the Pauline Letters (cf. Eph 4:24, Gal 3:10). Paul uses the expression «putting on the new man» almost in parallel with «putting on Christ». Man who restored the original state of his creation is nobody else but the incarnated Christ. Hence these expressions can be equated easily. In PS III, 580[15](20,17) the *KM* says: «Let that old man (ܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܩܐ) who was corrupted by lusts of error be humbled in truth. Let us put on (ܢܠܒܫ) that «new man (ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܓܒܪܐ)» who will be renewed by good works in imitation of Our Lord Jesus Christ who created him».

4.5 *New Life*

In PS III, 602[6](3,8) there is an expression «new Life (ܚܝܐ ܚܕܬܐ)». Paul also uses the expression «new life» in Rom 6:4. The «life (ܚܝܐ)» is

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[27] See Chap. II, section «1.3 *At the level of Diet*».

[28] In a detailed article K.E. Bryant speaks about the way in which the author uses these biblical images to explain the states of different groups in his community. Cf. K.E. BRYANT, «You Are What You Eat», 173-189.

[29] PS III, 792[21](28,5).

[30] See Chap. III, section «1.2 *Tripartite Man and Human Integrity*».

salvation in the Syriac tradition. The expression «new life» is diffused in Syriac literature as a technical term to refer the restoration of the lost life (salvation) of Adam[31]. The *KM* too uses this term in the same sense.

4.6 *The Mirror*

The imagery of «mirror (ܚܙܝܬܐ)» used in the *KM* can also be Pauline. Its references are there in 1Cor 13:12 and 2Cor 3:18. The «mirror» is presented there as a temporary means of heavenly vision. The *KM* combines the Pauline expressions of 1Cor 13:12 and 2Cor 3:18 with the Matt 5:8 for the development of this imagery. Thus the concepts of the «pure heart» and the «vision of God» are associated[32].

4.7 *The Luminous Eye*

The concept of the perception of invisible things by spiritual eyes is much frequent in the *KM*. Parallel with the imagery of «mirror of the heart» the *KM* uses the expressions «interior eye» or «eye of the heart»[33] to speak about this inner vision. It can also be Pauline. In Eph 1:18 we see the usage «the eye of your heart (ܥܝܢ ܠܒܟ̣ܝ)». In PS III, 440[6-8](18,3), the author present it as the part of Paul's own word. The *KM* says: «In this world as Paul said, as in a mirror with the eyes our hearts (ܥܝܢ ܠܒܒܢ) we see Our Lord »[34].

4.8 *The Tripartite Man*

In 1Thess 5:23 there is a reference to tripartite man. Paul speaks about three elements in man «ܦܓܪܐ», «ܢܦܫܐ», «ܪܘܚܐ». In the Chapter III, it is already seen that the author of the *KM* too presents man as a 'tripartite being'[35]. He uses different terms for the second element in man. Among them «ܢܦܫܐ» and «ܪܘܚܐ» are there, and are used interchangeably. The third element is «ܪܘܫܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ» and as it is discussed already it is the 'Spirit of God'. However, a well-defined tripartite system based on these three elements is not obvious in the *KM*. At the same time in the works of John

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[31] See Chap. III, section «1.3.3 a) The New Life».

[32] See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 a) + *The Mirror*».

[33] See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 a) + *The Luminous Eye*».

[34] PS III, 440[6-8](18,3):

ܟܠ ܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܗܕ ܥܠܡܐ ܟܕ ܒܡܪܝܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܒܒܢ ܥܝܢ ܕܠܒܒܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܠܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ

[35] See Chap. III, section «1.1 Man: A Conditional Tripartite Being».

the Solitary it became more evident. As the basis of his tripartite scheme, John the Solitary follows Pauline expressions from his first Letter to the Corinthians, *viz*., «σαρκικός (1Cor 3:3)», «ψυχικός (1Cor 2:14)», and «πνεματικός (1Cor 2:15)». Their *Peshitta* equivalents are «ܦܓܪܢܝܐ», «ܪܘܚܢܝܐ» and «ܢܦܫܢܝܐ». He incorporated these expressions into his three-fold system.

4.9 *The «Jerusalem Above» or «Heavenly Jerusalem»*

The expressions the «Jerusalem above» or «Heavenly Jerusalem» are synonyms of the heavenly Church. In our dissertation we analysed their frequent usage in the *KM*. As it is seen that the source of the author for their usage can be Gal 4:26 and Heb 12:22. The detailed study is there in Chapter IV[36].

4.10 *The Imagery of the «Temple»*

The concept of the believer or the Perfect as an 'abode of God' or *hayklā* diffused in early Christian writings can be Pauline. A detailed study on the usage of the imagery of temple (*hayklā*) / church to represent the «Perfect» of the *KM* is done in the dissertation[37]. In Paul there are certain major passages that use temple-*hayklā* imagery, *viz*., 1Cor 3:16-17; 6:19-20; 10:14-22; 2Cor 6:16. He drew a direct connection between the temple and human body (cf. 1Cor 3:16-17; 6:19). A theological study of it is there in Chapter IV[38].

4.11 *Ascetical Terminologies*

It is already said that several ascetical terminologies used in the *KM* are from the Pauline corpus. The first among them is *msarrqūtā*. Its relevance in the *KM* is dealt in Chapter III[39]. As it is seen there this crucial term derives from the verb «ܫܚܡ» which is used in Phil 2:7 to indicate the *kenosis* of Christ «ܐܬܚܫܡ ܒܦܓܪܐ». The *KM* exhorts man to keep one's 'body' without inclining to worldly instincts. In that context the author uses two verbs «to subdue (ܟܒܫ)» and «to be enslaved (ܐܬܥܒܕ)»[40]. Both these verbs are

[36] See Chap. IV, section «3.1.1 Triple Gradated Jerusalem».
[37] See Chap. IV, section «2.2.4 *'Ēdtā*: A Believer».
[38] See Chap. IV, section «3.3.1 a) Body as *Hayklā*».
[39] See Chap. III, section «1.3.2 b) The Self-Emptying».
[40] See Chap. III, section «1.3.1 The Body (ܦܓܪܢܝܐ) and the Perfection».

part of a Pauline expression from 1Cor 9:27, «I subdue and enslave my body».

Conclusion

There are many other terms and themes in the *KM* which express clear influences of the Pauline corpus. This appendix focused just on the relevant expressions of which supported the theme of the triple gradated Church. There is enough scope for a theological analysis of the Pauline expressions in the *KM*. From this attempt to summarize the Pauline themes of our dissertation it is evident that the author of the *KM* shapes his thoughts much in tune with those of Paul. He beautifully incorporated such thoughts to frame his argument. Many writers of his time as well as his living tradition wholeheartedly received the *Epistles* of Paul and they were read during their liturgy and thus several Pauline expressions and ideas were passed into their living contexts and became part of their life. So, not only the author of the *KM*, but also several other writers of his time never hesitated to use Pauline thoughts and expressions in their writings which were already familiar to their readership.

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Estrangela	East Syriac	West Syriac	Translitration
ܐ	ܐ	ܐ	’
ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	b b̲
ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	g g̲
ܕ	ܕ	ܕ	d d̲
ܗ	ܗ	ܗ	h
ܘ	ܘ	ܘ	w
ܙ	ܙ	ܙ	z
ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ḥ
ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ṭ
ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	y
ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	k k̲
ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	l
ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	m
ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	n
ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	s
ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	‘
ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	p p̲
ܨ	ܨ	ܨ	ṣ
ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	q
ܪ	ܪ	ܪ	r
ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	š
ܬ	ܬ	ܬ	t t̲
Vowels-East		Vowels-West	
◌ܰ	a	◌ܵ	a
◌ܳ	ā	◌ܴ	ā (pron. ō)
◌ܶ	e / i	◌ܷ	e / ē
◌ܲ	ē	◌ܺ	i / ī
◌ܺ	ī	◌ܻ	u / ū (orig. o / ō)
◌ܽ	u / ū		
◌ܸ	o / ō		

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in bibliographical references for the titles of books of the Holy Bible follow those given in the tipographical instructions of PUG, Rome, cf. R. MEYNET – J. ONISZCZUK, *Norme Tipografiche*; for those of theology and related subjects, cf. M.S. SCHWERTNER, *ITAG*[2]; and for the titles of Greek and Latin Patristic works, cf. G.W.H. LAMPE, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* and A. BLAISE, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* respectively. For the titles of Syriac writings many are appropriately coined by the author of the dissertation.

Abbreviations of the Books of Old Testament (In Biblical Order)

Gen	Genesis
Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
1-2Sam	1-2Samuel
1-2Kgs	1-2Kings
1-2Chr	1-2Chronicles
Neh	Nehemiah
Tob	Tobit
Job	Job
Ps	Psalm
Prov	Proverbs
Qoh	Qoheleth
Cant	Canticle of Canticles
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir	Sirach
Isa	Isaiah

Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Bar	Baruch
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Zech	Zecharia
Mal	Malachi
1-2Macc	1-2Maccabees

Abbreviations of the Books of New Testament (In Biblical Order)

Matt	The Gospel according to Matthew
Mark	The Gospel according to Mark
Luke	The Gospel according to Luke
John	The Gospel according to John
Acts	The Acts of the Apostles
Rom	The Letter to the Romans
1Cor	The First Letter to the Corinthians
2Cor	The Second Letter to the Corinthians
Gal	The Letter to the Galatians
Eph	The Letter to the Ephesians
Phil	The Letter to the Philippians
Col	The Letter to the Colossians
1Thess	The First Letter to the Thessalonians
1Tim	The First Letter to Timothy
1Pet	The First Letter of Peter
1John	The First Letter of John
Heb	The Letter to the Hebrews
Jas	The Letter of James
Rev	The Revelation

Abbreviations of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1Enoch	The Book of Enoch (Ethiopean)
2Enoch	The Second Book of Enoch or Slavonic Enoch
3Baruch	The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
4Esdras	The Book of Fourth Esdras
A. Paul. et Thecl.	*Acts of Paul and Thecla*
A. Thom.	*Acts of Thomas*
Apoc. Bar(syr)	*Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2Baruch)
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*

Ascens. Is.	*Ascension of Isaiah*
Ev.Thom.	*Evangelium Thomas* (Gospel of Thomas)
Jub.	*Book of Jubilees*
T. Ab.	*Testament of Abraham*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*

General Abbreviations

2Clem.	CLEMENT OF ROME, *Epistula alter ad Corinthios*
AAWG.PH	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Göttingen 1942 –
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, T.C. ODEN, ed., Illinois 1998-2005.
AChW	Ancient Christian Writers
ACT	Ancient Christian Texts
AD	Anno Domini
Ad. Marc.	TERTULLIAN, *Adversus Marcionem*
AH	*Asian Horizons: Dharmaram Journal of Theology*, Bangalore 2007 –
AINA	*Assyrian International News Agency*
AKGWG	Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen and Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Berlin 1895-1940.
al.	*alii / aliae / alia* (others)
AMS	*Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica, Rome 1952 –
ANF	*The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, I-X, P. SCHAFF – *al.*, eds., Edinburg 1867-1873.
AnLit	Analecta Liturgica, Rome 1979 –
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Bundapest 1950 –
ASR	Annali di Scienze Religiose, Milano 1996 –
ASSEMANI, *Catal.*, II	*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus : in quarum prima Orientales, in altera Graeci in tertia Latini Italici aliorumque Europaeorum idiomatum codices. Partis Primæ Tomus Secondus Complectens Codices Chaldaicos Sive Syriacos*, S.E. ASSEMANI – J.S. ASSEMANI, eds., Romae 1758.

ASSEMANI, *Catal.*, III	*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus : in quarum prima Orientales, in altera Graeci in tertia Latini Italici aliorumque Europaeorum idiomatum codices. Partis Primæ Tomus Tertius Complectens Reliquos Codices Chaldaicos Sive Syriacos*, S.E. ASSEMANI – J.S. ASSEMANI, eds., Romae 1759.
BAC	Bible in Ancient Christianity, Leiden 2004 –
BALAI, *HQennešrin*	BALAI, *Hymn for the consecration of the church in Qennešrin*, in J.J. OVERBECK, ed., *S. Ephraemi Syri. Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni. Balaei aliorumque opera selecta, e codicibus Syriacis manuscriptis in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit*, Oxonni 1865, 251-258.
BC	Before Christ
Beelen	BEELEN, J.TH., ed., *Sancti patris nostri Clementis Romani Epistolae binae de virginitate, syriace, quas ad fidem codicis manuscripti Amstelodamensis*, Lovanii 1856.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, Leuven 194? –
BL	British Library
BM	Biblioteca Midrásica
Br. Mus. Add.	British Museum Additions
Briefe	John the Solitary's *Letters* in *Briefe von Johannes dem Einsiedler*, L.G. RIGNELL, ed., Lund 1941.
Brock-Kiraz	BROCK, S.P. – KIRAZ, G.A., *Gorgias Concise Syriac-English English-Syriac Dictionary*, Piscataway, NJ 2015.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1940 –
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn 1903-1939, 1957 –
c.	*circa* (approximately)
CahArch	*Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen age*, Paris 1945 –
CANT	Corpus Christianorum Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti, M. GEERARD, Turnhout 1992.
CAVT	Corpus Christianorum Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti, M. GEERARD, Turnhout 1998.
CBM	Chester Beatty Monographs
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Washington 1939 –
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Turnholti 1953 –

CDiat-Syr	Syriac Version of Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron of Tatian*
cent.	century
CES	Cahiers d'Études Syriaques, Paris 2010 –
CGen	Ephrem's *Commentary on Genesis*, in *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum commentarii*, R.-M. TONNEAU, ed. – tr., CSCO 152/153, Scri. Syri. 71/72, Louvain 1955, 4-123.
Chap. / Chaps.	Chapter / Chapters
CistSS	Cistercian Studies Series, Kalamazoo 1969 –
CM	*Cuadernos Monásticos*, Florida 1965 –
CMI	Congregation of Carmelites of Mary Immaculate
Cod. Nitr.	Codices Nitrienses
Cod. Thds.	*Codex Theodosianus*
col.	Column
cont.	continued
COri	*Christian Orient*, Kottayam 1980 –
CPG	Corpus Christianorum Clavis Patrum Graecorum, I-VI, M. GEERARD, ed., Turnhout 1974-2003.
CPL	Corpus Christianorum Clavis Patrum Latinorum, E. DEKKERS, ed., Steenbrugis 1995[3].
CrSt	*Cristianesimo nella storia*, Roma 1980 –
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Leuven 1903 –
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1886 –
CUAStCA	The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, Washington, D.C 1941 –
d.	died
DANE	*Dictionary of Ancient Near East*, Piladelphia 2000.
De paen.	TERTULLIAN, *De paenitentia*
De Virg. I, II	PSEUDO – CLEMENT, *Epistulae ii ad virgines. Versio syriaca*
dem. ev.	EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, *Demonstratio Evangelica*
Did.	*Didache. doctrina xii apostolorum*
Didasc. Syr.	*Didascalia apostolorum. Versio syriaca*
Die Seele	John the Solitary's *Four Discourses on the Soul and on the Division of the Human Passions* in S. DEDERING, ed., *Johannes Von Lykopolis. Ein Dialog über die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen*, Leipzig – Uppsala – Hagg 1936.

DIP	*Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, I-X, G. PELLICCIA – G. ROCCA, eds., Roma 1974-2003.
dis.Her.	ORIGEN, *Disputatio cum Heracleida*
diss.	*Dissertation*
DocAdd	*Doctrine of Addai*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Washington.
Dr.	Doctor
DSp	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, I-XVII, M. VILLER, – *al.*, eds., Paris 1937-1995.
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
ECLS	Early Christian Literature Series, Missoula 1974 –
ECQ	*The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, London 1936-1964.
ECR	*Eastern Churches Review*, Oxford 1967 –
ECS	Eastern Christian Studies
ed. / eds.	editor, editors
EDCE	*Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Christian East*
EDEJ	*The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*
EEOC	*The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity*
EF	*Enciclopedia Filosofica*
Eph.	IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Epistula ad Ephesios*
et al.	*et alii / aliae / alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera* — «and other similar things»
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*: Louvain Journal of Theology and Canon Law, Leuven 1924 –
Exp.	*Expositions* of Aphrahat
f. / ff.	folio / folios
f.no.	foot note number
f.nos.	foot note numbers
Fasc.	Fascicle
FC	Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, Washington D.C. 1947 –
FChr	Fontes Christiani, Freiburg 1990 –
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen – und Dogmengeschichte, Göttingen 1952 –
Fr.	Father
Fs.	Festschrift
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, Berlin 1897 –
GDECS	Gorgias Dissertations Early Christian Studies
GECS	Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies

GEDSH	*Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*
Gent.	ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Contra Gentes*
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, Göttingen 1739 –
Gk	Greek
Gn. litt.	AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, *De Genesi ad litteram*
haer.	EPIPHANIUS OF CONSTANTIA (SALAMIS), *Panarion (Adversus haereses)*
Harp	*The Harp. A review of Syriac, Ecumenical and Oriental Studies*, Kerala 1987 –
HAz	EPHREM, *Hymni de Azymis*
HCruc	EPHREM, *Hymni de Crucifixione*
HEccl	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Ecclesia*
HEpiph	EPHREM (?), *Hymnen de Epiphania*
Herm	*Shepherd of Hermas*
Herm(m)	*Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate*
Herm(s)	*Shepherd of Hermas, Similitude*
Herm(v)	*Shepherd of Hermas, Visions*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*, London 1960 –
HFid	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Fide*
HHaer	EPHREM, *Hymnen Contra Haereses*
HHL	Harvard Houghton Library
HIei / App	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Ieiunio* / Appendix
HIei	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Ieiunio*
HIRS	Higher Institute of Religious Studies, Changanacherry
HL	*Historia Lausiac*
HNat	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Nativitate*
Hom. 1-16 in Gen.	ORIGEN, *In Genesim homiliae xvi*
Hom. 1-20 in Ier.	ORIGEN, *In Ieremiam homiliæ xx*
Hom. 1-28 in Num.	ORIGEN, *In Numeros homiliae xxviii*
Hom. in Lev.	ORIGEN, *In Leviticum homiliae* xvi
Hom.Nat.	NARSAI, *A Homily on Our Lord's Birth from the Holy Virgin*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies, Winona Lake 1976 –
Hugoye	*Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies*, Piscataway, NJ 1998 –
HVirg	EPHREM, *Hymnen de Virginitate*
i.e.	*id est* (that is)
Ibid.	*Ibidem* (in the same place)
ID.	Idem
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. An Illustrated Encyclopedia*

ISBE	*The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*
ITAG^2	*Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete. Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben = International Glossary of Abbreviations for Theology and Related Subjects. periodicals, series, encyclopedias, sources, with bibliographical notes*, M. S. SCHWERTNER, Walter de Gruyter – Berlin – New York 1992.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1822 –
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York 1984 –
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven 1843 –
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Boston 1881 –
JCSSS	*Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, Toronto 2001 –
JD	*Journal of Dharma*, Bangalore 1975 –
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*, Baltimore 1993 –
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, London 1949 –
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1888 –
JSJS	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements, Leiden
JSNT.SS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series, Sheffield 1978 –
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Oxford 1956 –
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford 1899 –
Kelaita	*The Liturgy of the Church of the East*, J. KELAITA, ed., Mosul 1928.
KM	*Kṯāḇā d-Massqāṯā*
Kmosko	*Praefatio* in M. KMOSKO, ed. – tr., *Liber Graduum*, PS III, Parisiis 1926, I-CCCVII.
Koodasakal	*Syromalabar Sabhayude Koodasakal. Sisukalude Mammodisa, Thailabhishekam(Stairya Lepanam), Muthirnnavarude Mammodisa, Thailabhishekam (Stairya Lepanam), Anuranjana Koodasa, Vivaham, Roghilepanam*, Kochi 2005.
LGr	*Liber Graduum*
LPub	Ephrem's *Letter to Publius*
LS	*Letter and Spirit: A Journal of Catholic Biblical Theology*, Ohio 2005 –
LXX	Septuagint
MA	Master of Arts

Mr.	Mister
MS	Manuscript
Msgr.	Monsignor
MSS	Manuscripts
MTS	Mar Toma Sahodharikal (Sisters of St. Thomas)
Mus	*Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales*, Louvain 1881 –
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
NDPAC	*Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, Leiden – New York 1994 –
NJ	New Jersey
no.	number
nos.	numbers
NPNF (II)	*A Select Library of Nicene and Post – Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Second Series*, H. WACE – P. SCHAFF, eds., Oxford – New York 1885-1900.
NT	New Testament
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge 1955 –
OBC	Orientalia Biblica et Cristiana, Weisbaden 1991 –
OC	Orientalia Christiana, Roma 1923-1934.
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Roma 1935 –
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma 1935 –
OdesSol.	*The Odes of Solomon*
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven 1974 –
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Weisbaden 1901 –
orig.	original
OrSyr	*L'Orient Syrien*, Paris 1956-1967.
OSB	Order of St. Benedict
p. / pp.	page number / numbers
ParOr	*Parole de l'Orient*, Kaslik 1970 –
PatSor	Patristica Sorbonensia, Paris 1957 –
Payne Smith	*A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, J. PAYNE SMITH, Oxford 1976.
PG	Patrologia Graeca, J.-P. MIGNE, ed., 1-162, Paris 1857-1886.
Ph.D.	*Philosophiæ Doctor* (Doctor of Philosophy)
Phdr.	Plato, *Phaedrus*
PIO	Pontificium Institutum Orientale
PL	Patrologia Graeca, J.-P. MIGNE, ed., 1-217, Paris 1844-1864.

PMAS.TT	Persian Martyr Acts in Syriac. Text and Translation, Piscataway, NJ 2008 –
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris 1903 –
Prot.	CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Protrepticus sive cohortatio ad gentes*
PS I	PARISOT, I., ed., *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae demonstrationes*, in PS I, Parisiis 1894.
PS II	PARISOT, I., ed., *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstratio XXIII de Acino*, in PS II, Parisiis 1907, 1-489; BARDSISAN OF EDESSA, *Liber Legum Regionum. Textum Syriacum Vocalium Signis Insruxit. Latine Vertit*, NAU, F., ed. – tr., PS II, Parisiis 1907, 490-611; KMOSKO, M., ed. – tr., *Liber Apocalypseos Baruch Filii Neriae Translatus de Graeco in Syriacum*, in PS II, Parisiis 1907, 1056-1306.
PS III	KMOSKO, M., ed. – tr., *Liber Graduum*, in PS III, Parisiis 1926.
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III, Paris 1893-1926.
PSAC	Patrimoine Syriaque Actes du colloque
PSFPTD	Publications de la Société Fouad i de Papyrologie Textes et Documents, Cairo 1932 –
Ps-Mac.Hom.	*Pseudo-Macarian Homilies*
Ps-Mac.Log.	*Pseudo-Macarian Logion*
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin 1964 –
PUG	Pontificia Università Gregoriana
QVC	Quaderni di Vetera Christianorum, Bari 1966 –
R.Oc.	Recension Occidental Manuscripts
R.Or.	Recension Oriental Manuscripts
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, Toulouse 1920-1971.
repr.	Reprint
Rev	Revelation
Rev.	Reverend
RSR	*Rechercches de science religieuse*, Paris, 1910 –
RST	Ricerche di scienze teologiche, Brescia 1969 –
RSV	Revised Standard version
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*, Leuven 1970 –
rv.	Reviser
SEA	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
S.E.O	Scientiarum Ecclesiasticarum Orientalium
SA	*Studia Anselmiana*, Roma 1933 –

SABS	Sisters of the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament
SCH(L)	Studies in Church History, London 1964 –
SChr	Sources Chrétiennes, Paris 1942 –
Scri.Arm.	Scriptores Armeniaci
Scri.Syri.	Scriptores Syri
SDomN	EPHREM, *Sermo de Domino Nostro*
Serm	Sermons attributed to Ephrem in E. BECK, ed., *Des heiligen Ephrem des Syrers Sermones*,
SJ	Society of Jesus
SM	*Studia Monastica*, Montserrat 1959 –
SOC.M	Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae, Cairo 1987 –
Sogitha	*The Sogitha on the church of Edessa*
SOK	Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte, Münster 1995 –
Sokoloff	*A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*, M. SOKOLOFF, Piscataway, NJ – Winona Lake 2009.
SPS	Salzburger patristische Studien, München 1966 –
SST	Sisters of St.Thomas
St.	Saint
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, Tübingen 1998 –
StEv	*Studia Evangelica*, Berlin 1959-1982.
StJ	Studia Judaica: Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin – New York 1961 –
StPatr 2	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford 1955*. K. ALAND – F.L. CROSS, eds., Berlin 1957.
StPatr 25	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1991, vol.2, Biblica et Apocrypha, Orientalia, Ascetica*, E.A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., Leuven 1993.
StPatr 30	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented at the Twefth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995. Biblica et Apocrypha, Ascetica, Liturgica*, II, E.A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., Leuven 1997.
StPatr 35	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999, vol.2, Ascetica, Gnostica, Liturgica*,

	Orientalia, M.F. WILES – E.J. YARNOLD, ed., Leuven 2001.
StPatr 51	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented at the Conference 'The Image of the Perfect Christian in Patristic Thought' at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine, under Taras Khomych, Oleksandra Vakula and Oleh Kindiy in 2009*, A. BRENT – *al.*, eds., Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2011.
StPatr 54	*Studia patristica. Papers Presented at Sixteenth International Conferenceon Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011. vol.2. Biblical Quotations in Patristic Texts*, M. VINZENT, ed., Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2013.
Str.	Strophe
Sub.	Subsidia
Sup.	Supplement
SVTQ	*St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Crestwood 1969 –
Ṭaksā d-Rāzā	*Ordo mysteriorum cum prima sanctificatione id est sanctificatio beatorum apostolorum Mar (domini) Addaï et Mar (domini)Mari praeceptorum orientis. iuxta usum ecclesia Syrorum Orientalium Malabaris. Editio Typica*, Romae 2003.
TCH	The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, Berkeley 1981 –
TeCLA	Texts from Christian Late Antiquity, Piscataway, NJ 2006 –
The Sacraments	*The Sacraments of the Syro-Malabar Church. Infant Baptism and Chrismation(Confirmation), Adult Baptism and Chrismation(Confirmation), Holy Matrimony, Reconciliation, Anointing of the Sick*, Kochi 2005.
Theol.Stud	*Theological Studies*, Cambridge 1891 –
Thesaurus	*Thesaurus Syriacus*, I-II, R. PAYNE SMITH, Oxonii 1879-1901.
TM	*Third Millennium*, Gujarat 1998 –
tr. / trs.	translator, translators
Tract.eu.Io.	AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, *In Iohannis evangelium* tractatus
trans.	translation
TS	Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, Cambridge 1891 –

TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig 1882 –
VigChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*, Amsterdam 1947 –
viz.	*videlicet* (namely or that is to say)
VS	Verba Seniorum, Roma 1961 –
WS	Woodbrooke Studies, Cambridge 1927 –
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzing 1847 –

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